



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

A 555119

LIBRARY OF

GEO. SLOCUM.

NO.

MIC

92

BX
7795
G69
A4
1837

112-0141
1837



FRIENDS' LIBRARY,

CONSISTING PRINCIPALLY OF

JOURNALS

AND

Extracts from Journals and other Writings

OF MEMBERS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

VOL. III.

LINDFIELD :

PRINTED AT THE SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY,
AND SOLD BY LONGMAN AND CO. PATERNOSTER-ROW, LONDON;
HARVEY AND DARTON, GRACECHURCH STREET; J. AND
A. ARCH, CORNHILL; W. DARTON, HOLBORN; EDMUND
FRY, BISHOPSGATE STREET, AND BY ALL THE
BOOKSELLERS.

1837.



MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE, RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE,
AND
LABOURS IN THE GOSPEL,
OF
JAMES GOUGH,

Compiled from his Manuscripts, by his Brother

JOHN GOUGH.

SECOND EDITION.

W. EADE, PRINTER, LINDFIELD.

Sept
Mrs. George Florence
S-27-1938

INTRODUCTION.

FOR my own future benefit, and for theirs too into whose hands it may fall, I am induced to commit to writing the following review of my days, now in the 66th year of my age: for since we are launched on the ocean of life, our principal care ought to be to steer our course through it to the port of rest, and unmixed felicity, though it were through all kinds of hardships and self-denial; since, if we fail of this at at last, it is then too late to amend it.

Could all the pleasures and advantages of this life be attained and enjoyed perfect and unmixed to its period, even so they would be no compensation for the loss of happiness in a future and immortal state. But those pleasures and advantages never can be so enjoyed by any one, unless his passions and inclinations are subject to the government of God, who alone ought to govern his creatures, and who discovers his will, to the humble attentive mind.

Indeed the temporary enjoyers of the good things of this life, may shew a face of pleasure to ignorant spectators, while they seem to float without interruption, in the midst of gratifications and amusements: yet a secret worm is

1-2-34567-2-1

often felt by them, as it were gnawing at the latent root of their exaltation and grandeur.

It is the universal and impartial regard of Omnipotence, which rebukes them for letting loose the reins of their lusts or eager inclinations, designing whereby their timely reformation for their everlasting good.

It often opposes the ambitious and proud, in their career, with the unwelcome discoveries that they are roving in other pursuits than those that heaven designed for them: and not applying their precious time and talents to the great and good purpose for which they were given. Sometimes it displays the beauties and benefits of rectitude, deserted by them; and sometimes the horror and sad consequence of persisting in the neglect or violation of duty, thus discovered on the one hand, and counteracted by them on the other.

Hence too generally, disliking the check to present ease and pleasure, such as are intrusted with the means of doing good, and helping others on their way, turn their attention from this omnipresent monitor, this faithful bosom friend. They fly to tempting varieties, to soothing deceptions, to amusing recreations; they bear their heads aloft among the envying multitudes, and seek to drown his salutary admonitions in splendor, noise, flutter, intemperance and dissipation.

Many such I have known, who are now gone to their long homes, whom in my younger years I envied.

I have been so foolish as to transfer my envy from them, after they disappeared, to their vain and short lived successors ; many of whom are also gone, and so will the rest ere long. And then what follows those that have left their heaven behind them, who assuming to themselves the direction that was due to God, have refused the reverence and obedience of his laws ? Ah then the enviers and envied, like the blind led by the blind, fall into one abyss. Unfit for the regions of pure love to God and each other, of perfect peace of *joy unspeakable and full of glory*, they are debarred from admission into them. Separated in the course of justice, plunged with the vast and innumerable host of rebellious and execrable spirits, all their bitterness, envy, resentment, eager desires ungratified, unceasing vexation and anguish descend with them, with infinite increase in an unbodied state.

A sensual earthly mind is too much initiated to relish the pure joys, or to suit the society of the spirits of the just made perfect. Goodness is painful to the wicked, being so contrary to the depravity of their nature. Heaven would be no heaven to them.

A change of heart is necessary to be experienced by every man, from a state of nature to a state of grace; from earthly and sensual dispositions and affections, to holy and heavenly, in order to be fitted for the fruition of, as well as the admission into the kingdom of heaven. It is then the greatest wisdom, while time and opportunity are afforded, to use all diligence to attain that state of mind, whereby we may be prepared, when all the transitory delights, amusements, and desirable objects of this world fail, to be received into everlasting habitations: and how ought our hearts to be filled with thankfulness to God, who in his universal love to mankind, hath provided for them a physician, able and willing to heal all nations, to create clean hearts, and renew right spirits in all who submit to him, and follow his directions.

But in order to attain this desirable state, we must make a total surrender of ourselves to the divine will revealed to us, in daily self-denial and fidelity: persevering therein to the end of our days, ardent in desire to do good, and to be conformed to the mind of our Creator.

The less we look out unnecessarily into the world, or covet its honours, favours, friendship and greatness, and the more we look to God with a single eye, and covet his honour, favour, friendship and riches, the more shall we experience a growth in the very root, and in all the

branches of the divine life, that we may be as a chaste spouse to Christ in every desire and aim, in every motion of the mind, and its companion the body too, and surely he ever merits it from us, even he who has graciously visited, and from day to day invited, and called us out of the spirit and ways of the world, to join himself, in order to partake with him and his, of pure peace and joy in the present, and more infinitely in a future state. His call is "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, touch no unclean thing, and I will receive you, and I will be a father to you," &c.*

By this call were our honourable predecessors in the beginning, separated from the spirit and ways of the world, and incited to refuse touching the unclean thing or whatever sprang from an impure source, what persecution soever that refusal might cost them, knowing that he whom they obeyed and in whom they trusted, would carry them through all opposition, which they experienced (to their unspeakable joy) to be fulfilled, and livelily testified to the world, many of them, both living and dying.

Those happy men and women left the Lord's vineyard (through their faithful labours with the divine blessing upon them) well fenced and cleaned (having gathered out the stones thereof)

* 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18.

and abounding with the excellent fruits of the Holy Spirit of Christ.

After this, degeneracy stole in, revolting to the world, reimbibing its spirit, resuming its customs, language and manners: which has since widely spread and overflowed like a deluge, broken down the fence, and introduced an unhappy change in the state of our society.

Yet there is no change in God or his laws. Oh! then that we may speedily return back to him and them, and to that state from whence we have fallen, else great, it is to be feared, will be our condemnation.

Having premised these brief and most important observations, I now proceed to the narrative of my own life.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE, RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE, &c.
OF
JAMES GOUGH.

I was born at Kendal in Westmoreland on the 27th of 12th month, 1712, and my parents John and Mary Gough, professing the truth as held by the people called Quakers, I received my education in the same profession. My mother, who was an industrious, careful, well-minded woman, taught me to read ; and when I was a little turned of five years of age I commenced a scholar in Friends' school in my native town, under the tuition of Thomas Rebanks, at which school I continued till my fifteenth year. Having a good genius and a propensity to learning, I attained with facility and readiness the Latin and Greek languages ; and my quick proficiency therein, (I being of little stature for my age) excited admiration, procured me the fame of a great scholar, vastly magnified my little stock of attainments, and also introduced me to the notice of several persons of eminence in the town, who would frequently question me in respect to my learning, and were generally pleased with my ready answers.

In particular a distinguished justice of peace, with his wife, took a singular notice of me, admitting me (young as I was) to free conversation with them, and introducing me at times into grand company, which frequented their houses. The said justice would say, that if my parents would give me up to him, he would send me to the university to receive a proper education. This flattered my ambition, as it was what at that time I heartily wished for.

By these means the seeds of wild nature, the noxious weeds of pride and vain conceit (the produce of every soil) received strength and nourishment in my early minority, and shot up high for my present childish age.

But in some sort to counterbalance these incentives to pride and airy notions, I had the advantage of receiving my education in a place, in and about which there lived many worthy Friends, whose exemplary lives, and religious care and labours, often in my early years made good impressions on my mind, which (though my own propensities soon effaced them) left fixed upon my breast an honourable esteem for those truly good men and women, with painful reflections under the sense of my own infidelity, and secret wishes for that happy condition, which I really believed them to be established in, by Christ their Redeemer and Sovereign.

My understanding was enlightened when very

young, to see both my own deficiencies in duty, and those of many others more advanced in years; and I thought, if I lived to be a man, their harms should be my warning.

I remember a worthy minister, Joseph Jordan from Virginia, having had the small pox, at a Friend's house in Kendal, and being raised up again; at the first meeting that he got to after it, was drawn out in such a moving manner in his ministry, that the meeting in general seemed to be impressed with great tenderness under it; and I then (though but very young) had a share therein. The desirableness of living, so as to obtain divine favour seemed to be very clearly and strongly set before our view. And the opportunity had some good effect upon my mind for a short season.

Here we may remark the advantage that accrues to religious society and to meetings, where they are favoured with a number of faithful elders, living ministers, and spiritually minded Friends; men of truth, "fearing God, and hating covetousness."* The liveliness of their spirits; the clearness of their sight, and the uniformity of their conduct and conversation, qualify them to shew the people how they should walk, in the pursuit of peace, both by precept and example; precepts drawn from the living spring of experience, and examples formed by a watchful

*Exod. xviii, 21.

attention to the pointings and limitation of truth. I remember some whose very countenances seemed to command awe, and impress observers with serious consideration. As the salt of the earth, seasoning those amongst whom they walked, with a sense of the truth which lived and predominated in them; under the powerful influence thereof, these kept up meetings both for worship and discipline, and were enabled thereby to keep things in good order, as themselves were a good savour in their allotments. On the other hand we may observe that where the elders and active Friends are not under this qualification; but under the form, are suffering their hearts to go after their covetousness, secretly departing from under the influence of this divine principle, the cause and prevalence of truth too often decline amongst the different ranks of the people, "as in the day when a standard-bearer fainteth."

My mother made it her maxim in her plan of education to accustom her children to useful employment, frugal fare, and to have our wills crossed, in order hereby to render us better fitted to undergo any future hardships in life, that might be allotted to befall us. And I have reason to think that her cares and endeavours, with the example and labours of good Friends, were me "as bread cast upon the waters,"* which

* Eccl. xi, 1.

appeared after many days. In the intervals of school hours she would be for employing me in one useful occupation or other. This I thought a great hardship ; and being much mortified thereby, I exerted my wits to evade it, often feigning pretences of school tasks and exercises set me by my master, and such like groundless excuses.

The great duty of education, to discharge it rightly, needs divine instruction and assistance, as much as any duty in life, and therefore parents have need fervently to pray for it, and faithfully to follow it, when received. Otherwise they may be in danger of falling short, and the deviations and miscarriages of the children (at least in part) may lie at their doors.

But if my mother might seem to err on the one hand, viz. that of severity, it is to be feared that the far greater number err on the other hand, viz. that of connivance and indulgence : and that though the former be more painful for the present, yet the latter generally proves more pernicious in its effects and future consequences. I verily believe, I have enjoyed a better state of health, from being brought up in a hardy way, as my constitution was but weak and tender.

Upon a review of my state at this age, my recollection represents it as a complication of ambition, envy, craft, and deceit ; but that even then a divine monitor was near me, to manifest

and reprove the corruption of my heart, and the evil of my ways. I was sensible of my mother's anxious care for my preservation from evil, and attainment of good : but I eluded as much as I could, the confinement which she thought conducive thereto, in keeping me under her own eye, and out of the way of corrupting company. I loved liberty ; I sought it with eagerness, frequently got it by craft, and abused it to my hurt, as inexperienced young people are too apt to do.

In this state, I well remember, I was afraid and ashamed to meet with good Friends, such as I yet loved and honoured, being inwardly convicted from the consciousness of my own vile and unguarded conduct. Sometimes I received from some of them the reproof I deserved ; and sometimes I thought their very silence rebuked me. At other times in their company the love and desire of goodness re-entered with a strong force. But being withdrawn therefrom, temptation too often reinstated vice in its wonted seat in my heart, and in the direction of my conduct.

I easily and clearly saw the wide difference betwixt good and bad company, and how much the former was preferable ; yet the powerful allurements of the latter forcibly drew me into
d held me fast in a wretched captivity there-

to, manifestly contrary to my better judgment, which, I fear is the case of many others.

There being a large body of Friends in the county of Westmoreland and the adjacent parts, our general meetings were many of them very largely attended; and as it was the care of the elders, and other Friends concerned for the welfare of the youth, to encourage them very early to attend the meetings of discipline for their improvement in virtue and sobriety; I attended many of these large meetings, but too frequently without reaping any share of the real benefit intended by them, or receiving any other impressions than those of vanity and airy ambition: so that however such meetings were favoured with divine virtue and power, the dissipation and absence of my foolish roving mind rendered it like the barren heath, not profiting by the fruitful shower, or cheering beams of the sun.

And there is reason to fear, that this may be the case of too many young people, who are pleased to go to these large meetings from other motives than those of piety, who, forgetful of the intent and design of them, indulge their corrupt inclinations in very unseasonable gaiety and festivity. What the faithful labourers in the church endeavour to build up, these in their unguarded conduct pull down, and some

times bring reproach and disagreeable reflections on their religious profession.

Whereas had these meetings been constantly beautified with an uniformity in the conduct of professors, consistent with the divine principle of truth and the doctrines of its faithful ministers, they would have proved of much greater service. For as the truth is in itself unspotted, and its excellency unchangeable, the glory and dignity thereof would have shined forth very amiably and attractively in the eyes of the nations, had not the misconduct of its professors too frequently and extensively eclipsed its genuine lustre; which merits the solid consideration of all who have been educated, or have joined in profession with us; both when they attend such meetings, and at all other times.

Being arrived at my fifteenth year, my mother was anxious to have me put to some business. Through her persuasion, my father in the course of his travels, spoke to David Hall, (the memoirs of whose life are extant, and for whom my mother had an honourable esteem) and agreed with him to take me as usher to his school, desiring no other terms for me but my board, and such instruction as he might see I yet needed: which gave my mother great satisfaction.

She accompanied me to his house at Skipton, a Yorkshire. And here I experienced the ad-

vantage of the education she had given me, for thereby I was prepared to submit more willingly to continual employ and hardship. And though many of the boys coming from full houses and plentiful tables, thought their fare here mean (as indeed the price for both boarding and tuition was but eight pounds per annum) yet to me it was in general otherwise.

There happened to be in the family at this time two youths, whose cases or events in life, I think not improper to mention by way of caution: but their names I would wish to be buried in oblivion, unless they may yet be favoured with repentance to salvation.

The one was a lodger in the house. He was a valuable pattern and very helpful in the family. I esteemed him to be in a happy condition, and still believe he was so at that time. He had a few words in the ministry, and grew in his gift; but afterwards becoming exalted, and too fond of applause, he fell into the snares of the grand enemy, and brought a reproach on the truth, and on the ministry. What need hath he that standeth, or thinketh he standeth, to take heed lest he fall.

The other was at that time apprentice to David Hall. He was afterwards a minister well esteemed among many Friends; but alas he also shamefully fell. And what renders case of these my formerly well-beloved frier

still more melancholy, is, that though there is balm in Gilead, yet they and others, whom the enemy has thus wounded and poisoned, will not turn to the physician here, but rather endeavour to have their wounds deceitfully healed.

I remember to have heard one, who had basely fallen in an unguarded hour, boasting a few years after, that he had been washed in the bottom of Jordan, and had brought up stones of memorial; and this in an affected ministerial way, when it appeared not to be the case to any but himself: but rather that the poor man was still under the deception of the crafty enemy, willing to deceive himself, and wanting to deceive others, while he was at best but very superficially washed from deep defilements. Judgment had not had its perfect work, though he was very willing to think and to have it thought by others that it had. And to evade that awful consideration, that the most pure and righteous God is jealous of his honour, and requires our going clean through all that humiliation, labour and patience, which his light in the conscience discovers to be necessary for repairing the dishonour incurred. All palliations or softening excuses, all arts to conciliate human compassion and favour, are but like fig-leaf coverings, through which the nakedness of transgressors is manifest to such as are indued with true sight, and he daubing over destructive breaches with

untempered mortar.——But enough of this digression, wishing it may prove useful where needed.

When I had staid in my service at Skipton a little more than a year, my master gave me leave to return to Kendal to see my relations. He made me the bearer also of a letter to my father, wherein he signified, that considering my years, he approved of my qualifications and conduct, and offered wages for my future service. My mother took little notice of the offer; but was exceedingly rejoiced at the other part of the letter as giving her better hopes on my behalf than she hitherto had.

In the course of the succeeding year, by agreement between my father and my master, I spent three months with Richard Kennedy, writing master in Liverpool, to improve myself in writing, and learn some branches of the mathematics. One seventh day while here, I (having always a great propensity to see towns and places that were new to me) went to see the city of Chester, and lodged two nights at Peter Leadbetter's; in my return by Eastham Ferry, which is five miles athwart to Liverpool, an elderly gentlewoman having got some play-books in the boat, I offered to read for her: as I was reading, some horses in the boat grew unruly, which terrified her very much; so that she put by her play books, and would no mor

(while we were in the boat) touch them herself, nor suffer me to touch one of them.

Many remarkable preservations I had in my younger days: but the most remarkable was during this my residence at Liverpool which happened as follows. One first day in the afternoon I went with some other boys a boating in the dock, which by means of flood-gates was kept so full of water as to keep the ships afloat, when the tide was out. We rowed several times from one end of the dock to the other. At length some rude boys that were stronger than we, took from us our oar, or oars, and this in all probability proved the means of our preservation. For now we found ourselves obliged to work our way with our hands by the ships to the upper end of the dock. Which just as we reached, we heard a noise as of the loudest thunder: climbing up from the boat unto the quay, we soon found that the dock gates being grown old were broken down. The water rushing out in a rapid torrent, bore down all before it, oversetting and greatly damaging several vessels that lay near them. The frightful nearness of such a danger, and narrow escape from it so affected my mind, as to invade my sleep that night, and repeat itself again to my imagination with aggravations of horror.

At the expiration of my three months here I went to Kendal yearly meeting, where my father,

being just arrived from a journey, in which he had made his way through Skipton, informed me that he had agreed with David Hall to bind me to him for four years longer; this was no agreeable intelligence to me, for although I honoured my worthy master, yet every thing else was not as I could wish it. I thought I could foresee much hardship, to be unavoidably my lot: yet as my father had so agreed, I thought it my duty to comply. I endeavoured to put a good heart and face upon it, and so entered upon my part. During these four years my master was frequently abroad at meetings. He did not often miss the quarterly meetings at York, and sometimes attended the yearly meeting in London, and then the care of the scholars in and out of school lay heavy on me.

Both before my coming to Skipton, and while I was there, I often had fresh desires kindled in my heart after redemption, I was shewn clearly the necessity of it, and the danger of delays in a matter of such consequence; so that I have left off playing for a time, thinking it great infatuation to squander my precious hours in play, when in danger of my life, and that too for ever. But the most particular reach I ever had was at a meeting in our school-house under the baptizing ministry of John Fothergill, whereby I was awakened to vigilance for a season, rising early, and carefully

attending to every step in my business, and the duties of my station. But soon, too soon, the fervour of this sacred flame, abated, and I gradually fell back, and became just what I was before: yet I did not forget or wholly lose the sense of this day of my visitation; but often privately lamented my revolt, and I continued still to maintain a good character amongst Friends.

I do not remember much more than what I have already intimated in general of these four years, save that one time, when my master was abroad, I thought myself hardly and unreasonably used, and thereupon conceived a design to run away by night (it being moon-light :) but that kind Providence whose fatherly care was over me, when I was too little careful for my own well doing, withheld me. For when the time proposed for putting my design in execution arrived, the pernicious consequences of such a procedure, were so clearly manifested to my mind, that I was discouraged from the attempt; and therefore concluded patiently to endure what might be permitted to befall me, till the termination of the time contracted for, might bring me my release in a reputable and conscientious way.

Near the expiration of my time I wrote to some of my friends, acquainting them, that I intended to try some new place, and received a let-

ter from my good friend John Wilson of Kendal, signifying that Alexander Arscott of Bristol wanted an usher, and offered twenty pounds per annum ; which offer I readily accepted.

So leaving Skipton, and the yearly meeting at Kendal approaching, I went thither, staid a few days with my mother, and then set forward for Bristol. In my way at Wolverhampton, standing at the door of the inn where I alighted, I saw a crowd of people passing by, and heard it was a Quaker's funeral ; whereupon I went to it, and our friend Joshua Toft (whom I do not remember to have seen before) attended it, and was raised up in a large and living testimony whereby I was afresh reached, and considerably tendered, and thence proceeded on my way under revived impressions of good upon my mind to Worcester ; there I met with William Beesly going to Bristol yearly meeting, with whom I went in company to Gloucester, but my horse being tired I was forced to leave him behind, and walk the greatest part of the remainder of the way in my boots. In a few weeks after, that worthy minister and elder John Richardson of Yorkshire landed, in company with Robert Jordan from Pennsylvania, who bought my horse for the same price it cost me.

My good master Alexander Arscott was like a kind and tender father to me. He was the eldest son of the parson of Southmolton in De-

vonshire, and himself educated at the university of Oxford, with intention to fit him for the same function. But when he was just ripe for preferment, and might have had a fair prospect that way, his father being well beloved and respected among the great men in that country, he turned his back on all prospects of this kind, being convinced of the blessed truth. This was a great mortification to his father and mother, who would both sit weeping by him in the bitterness of their hearts, as I have heard him relate. This he added, pierced him deeply, as he sincerely desired to be a dutiful son to tender and indulgent parents. A cloud came over his understanding, and the enemy in his own breast suggested that he was acting quite wrong. But as he humbled himself before the Most High, imploring his direction, he received a fresh sight that he must forsake both father and mother for Christ, and be faithful to the manifestation of his will, through all events. His parents became afterwards better reconciled to his change, when he was settled in good business in Bristol, where he kept school for the children of Friends and others, from that time till his decease, being about thirty-five years, and proved helpful to the rest of his father's family, in procuring them by his interest, places for getting a livelihood.

I came up to Bristol quite plain in my garb,

(as David Hall would not suffer any other in his family) and it being the time of the yearly meeting, at a Friend's house I fell in company with some well minded Friends, one or more of whom observed to me, that sundry young people had come up the same way from the north of England to the southern parts, particularly to London and Bristol; yet after being there a-while they ran into the fashions of those places, till they even outstripped the native inhabitants.

Now I had not only been educated in plainness, but had been inwardly convinced of the foundation on which it stood; wherefore upon hearing this account of the ridiculous folly and instability of my country folks, I was sorry that they gave occasion for such remarks to their dishonour, and took up a resolution to continue steady in my old plain way. And I do not know that I suffered any external disadvantage by it: and if I had, the cause of truth is worth suffering for, and the Almighty rewards patient suffering in a good cause. But I found that good Friends seemed to love me the more on this account; and even others, who were conscious of their degeneracy seemed to respect me, as apprehending me to be better than themselves: and I had most peace of mind in continuing in my wonted plainness, though I was like a speckled bird, there being even then very few plain-dressed young people or others, in the meeting of Bris-



tol. But I have observed that deviating from this path of plainness, which truth leads into, and making excursions in dress, opens the way to intimate connexion with young people out of our society, or libertines in it; and so leads further and further from a due subjection to Christ's kingdom and government, often making them forget and lose the good which they have formerly possessed, and consequently draws them along into the utmost danger. Whereas adhering to the truth and its plain path, opens the way for safer and more profitable and edifying connexions as I often found here, to my solid inward satisfaction, which I hope I shall never forget.

Being now removed far from all my connexions, my parents, relations, and the place of my nativity, and being here as a stranger in a strange land, having at first little or no acquaintance in my new residence; in this my solitary situation it pleased divine goodness to take notice of me, and to favour me afresh with a merciful and reaching visitation of his love to my soul, and more clearly to reveal his Son in me, whereby I was given plainly to see, that my safety here and happiness hereafter, depended upon my yielding faithful obedience to his requirings by his light in my heart, and that his requirings would be only what tended to my real good, and lasting welfare.

This was a day of my soul's espousal to Christ Jesus. I was overcome with his love, and with admiration of his condescending goodness to such an unworthy creature; it being the day of the Lord's power, I was ready and willing to do any thing that I saw I should or ought to do.

Having a strong inclination to poetry, I had sometimes at Skipton indulged my fancy therein. But now when the Lord's power took hold of me I sacrificed all my idols and burned all my collection of poems, even though some of them were on what would be called good subjects; yet they had too much attracted my mind, and engrossed my thoughts. I was made sensible that these poems were not my proper business, yet they took the place of what was really so, and therefore I gave them up. For I now saw that I must shut out and leave behind me what others generally crave and pursue, viz. The vain desires and delights, which lead away the mind from that great Being, who woos us to true happiness.

And indeed my whole delight was in the company of Christ my dear Lord and master. I was directed by him to do all things well, and bear all things with meekness. And as I on my part carefully regarded and practised his directions, my soul enjoyed the sweet sense of his approbation. And I preferred it before all the world, which I saw to be of little value

compared with the favour of its almighty Creator. To please him I thought well worth all the toil and suffering of the day ; and the desire of doing it, whetted my industry and strengthened my patience. Thus I enjoyed a good time, and was often overcome with the love and kindness of my dear Redeemer.

For in him I had now a father, a guardian, and a friend, and an excellent one indeed, who embraced me with the most engaging affection, when I applied myself to do every thing rightly. All Friends and relations, with all kinds of enjoyments seemed to centre in him alone, for he alone amply supplied all, and having him was having every thing that was good. In his presence there could be no want. It was then no hard matter for me to deny every natural and corrupt desire, as for his sake ; and to renounce the objects which had formerly pleased me too well, and which I had been foolishly fond of : and yet for the rejection of these things, which had done me no good but harm, I ever found him a rich rewarder.

In his presence I could envy no man, however rich, eminent or seemingly happy ; but I loved all men as his workmanship, and wished that all would come to him, and in and with him be truly happy for ever.

Then bidding farewell to the world and its vanities, whose beauty and alluring lustre were

tarnished and eclipsed in my eyes, through the superior brightness of the Sun of Righteousness shining in my heart, I loved solitude that I might seek him, who was now become the life of my life, and wait for his fresh appearing to me, who brought with him not only light to shew me my blemishes and defects, but animating fortitude, fervent desire, and divine help to withstand and surmount corrupt habits and propensities, and vigilantly in the secret of the soul to guard against the first rising of any imagination, or inclination, that was not consistent with the pure holy discoveries of his blessed spirit. Thus with the royal Psalmist, Psal. 16. 11. "In his presence I found fulness of joy." My mind was moulded into a divine frame, a new creation of pure love to God and to men, wherein the heavens and the earth in a sweet harmony, seemed to shew forth the power, wisdom and goodness of the one good Father and preserver of the whole. I rejoiced that I had lived to see such a day, wherein I had a sure evidence in my own bosom of being translated to a better world, to live for ever united to him and his, if I should then be snatched from this.

Happy had it been before me, had I still thus continued steady in my progress towards perfection, through following his guidance towards it; but being in a great city, I sometimes looked out, and thereby again caught sensual de-

sires, which demanded to be gratified, and were too often obeyed, when in my power, by which I again did harm to myself, and gave away my inward strength and fortitude for walking faithfully, as Sampson gave away his to Delilah; yet I still bore a good character, and many looked upon me as a young man of steady conduct; but by a painful feeling of my own instability I knew myself better.

A good condition is easily lost, for want of duly observing our blessed Lord's direction to watch and pray, lest we enter into temptation.—While I observed it, I daily and hourly found the benefit of it, in my rising up and lying down, and on my bed in the night season, having my heart and affections wholly set on Christ, and the great end of his having given me existence, blessing his name for so revealing his goodness to me, renewing covenant with him, and watching against every thought that had a tendency to carry off my mind, and separate it from him.

I rose early, implored him to direct me how to spend every part of the day, most to the honour of his name; and to aid me to exert myself in the full discharge of my duty every way: and oh! many times in the day great peace, and solid satisfaction flowed in my soul for attending to and following his internal directions.—Every thing went well and in proper order, through

this constant care to walk exemplarily, and act faithfully in the duties of my place and station in life. And many times in the evening of a well spent day, my soul overflowed with the sweet earnestness of the heavenly and everlasting reward, reserved for perseverance in well-doing.

Sometimes to every body that I saw, I felt great love to rise in my heart, and a tender well-wishing desire for them, that their souls might partake with mine of the hidden treasures of the unutterable love of Christ, and the joy of his salvation.

May I never forget the day of this his most engaging kindness, and of my espousals to him. I may say *truth is truth*, unchangeably excellent, holy, pure and perfectly good. It leads to every thing that is best, and upholds in it, and rewards for every act and instance of self-denial in obedience to its dictates. Ever worthy to be admired, adored, revered, loved and served by all the nations of the world, as that which alone would make all happy in true love, and preserve all in pure and spotless order every where. So would earth resemble heaven, and its inhabitants be linked in a holy, blessed society with Christ, with angels, and the spirits of the just made perfect, in enjoying together the brightness of his presence, in whose presence

joy, and at whose right hand are rivers of pleasure for evermore. For this our Lord prayed to his father on behalf of his disciples ; " sanctify them through thy truth, thy word is truth."

I continued at Bristol upwards of four years, living with my worthy master, for whom I had a great and deserved esteem, as assistant or usher in his school to the time of his death, which happened the latter end of my fourth year there, he being seized with a diabetes, which gradually weakened him, till at last in a sweet frame of mind he departed this life, generally regretted by Friends and others, having been a man remarkably serviceable, not only as a member of religious, but also of civil society. His character for integrity being so universal that he was very much employed in determining differences between his fellow citizens either as arbitrator or umpire. So that to the blessing of the peace-maker he might seem to have a title above most. His funeral from the Friars meeting-house was attended by a very great number of Friends and others. Four Friends appeared publicly to a very crowded audience, viz. James Tylee, Daniel Badger, Isaac Sharpless and Thomas Gawthrop. The next day the men's meeting elected Jonathan Nelson, schoolmaster of Reading to succeed him, and desired me to keep up the school till it might be convenient for the said Jonathan to come,

which I did, and at his coming resigned it to him.

Being informed that Friends at Cork, in Ireland, wanted a schoolmaster, I agreed to go thither to serve them in that capacity; so calling to see and take'leave of my brother, who lived with Thomas Bennet at Pickwick, in Wiltshire, in the station of usher to his school, I went from thence to Gloucester, and was at the two meetings there on first-day, which were poor small meetings. On second day I rode to Worcester, and staid there at my kind friend William Beesley's over third day. The week-day meeting there, was to me a tendering season both in silence. and under the lively ministry of old John Corbyn; towards the week's end I reached Kendal, where I staid two or three weeks; during which stay, my father took a fever and died. A day or two after his funeral, I left Kendal, and returned to Bristol, from whence, after waiting some time for a wind, I took shipping for Cork, in company with doctor Ratty of Dublin, who had been at the yearly meeting in London, and amongst his relations in Wiltshire, and was also waiting for a passage to Cork.

I was affected with an awful impression on my first embarking; it put me on considering on what foundation I ventured my life upon the water. On that head I was soon favoured

with inward satisfaction, and resignation to divine Providence.

The wind being unfavourable we had a very tedious passage, being ten days on the water from Pill to the Cove of Cork. It was late at night when we landed at Cove, and next morning went up in a boat to Cork, where I lodged about two weeks at Jonas Devonsher's, (a Friend of a large estate) his two sons being under my tuition, and afterwards boarded in a Friend's family till I married.

. The meetings of Friends in Ireland, and particularly in the province of Munster, not lying so contiguous as in many parts of England, could not so conveniently be joined several together, to constitute monthly or men's meetings of discipline for transacting the affairs of the church, but in these parts particularly, each particular meeting was a men's meeting in itself, and some of the meetings both hereaway and in other parts, being greatly reduced in number; it became the concern of Friends in Ireland to recommend to the largest meetings nearest to them the care of visiting these little meetings frequently, to inspect their state, and help them by advice and counsel as occasion might require. Two of these meetings, viz. those of Bandon and Youghal were under the care of Cork mens' meeting, which was regular and

constant in appointing visits to them at the stated times.

I being now become a member of Cork men's meeting, (being recommended by certificate from Bristol) it fell to my lot in company with other Friends to go upon a visit to the meeting of Youghal: here seeing Mary the daughter of John and Martha Dobbs of the said town, a plain and orderly young woman, I found my affections closely engaged towards her, and having proposed to her parents my desire to address her in order to marriage, and obtained their consent, after some time we were married there according to the good order used in our society.

The said John Dobbs, her father being convinced of the truth, while he was a student at the university of Oxford, was for his fidelity to conviction disinherited by his father Richard Dobbs esq. of Castle Dobbs near Carrickfergus, of an estate worth several hundreds per annum, being his eldest son.

His father left it to a younger son, who was to pay my father-in-law ten pounds per annum out of it, which during the life time of that son was but indifferently paid, and by his prodigality the estate was involved. But his son Arthur Dobbs, late governor of North Carolina, succeeding to the inheritance thereof, voluntarily doubled the said annual sum, and paid it

punctually. My father-in-law having studied physic at the college, practised it with good success, and great Christian charity to the poor, so as to save little from his income that way.

He had been the favourite of the family, but upon his joining in society with Friends, and giving up his whole heart to follow the discoveries of the light of Christ in his own conscience, he was treated by his father with the utmost severity as a rebel, and then cast out as an alien. So that he might well be said to have forsaken for Christ's sake, father and brethren, and sisters, and houses, and lands; and like faithful Abraham to have offered up to the Lord whatever was dearest to him in this world, and to have trusted in God, which was doubtless counted to him for righteousness.

Being beloved by Friends, he was urged by some to have recourse to the law for the recovery of the family estate as his birthright, which he had done nothing to forfeit, and assistance offered him for doing it. Whereupon he was prevailed upon at length to make a beginning; but not having that inward peace with Christ which he preferred before all the world, in the first step of contention, he put a stop to all further proceedings, and rather chose to confide in God without it.

For a more particular account of him, see the collection of Friends' sufferings in folio, vol. 2

and Doctor Ruttys History of the Rise and Progress of Truth in Ireland. Of him I have only to add, that he made a joyful and happy exit, in an exceeding thankful and triumphant state, out of this world, with a full assurance of going to live for ever in a better. He died about seven or eight months after our marriage.

His wife Martha Dobbs was convinced of truth before their marriage, by the dying expressions of a handmaid of the Lord, viz. Deborah Sandham. She had a few words of public testimony in meetings, survived her husband some years, and died in a good old age, having been a heavenly-minded woman.

Previous to my marriage, a small lot of ground offering for building on, which was very convenient to my school, and the carpenter reckoning he could run up a neat small house for a sum I could then spare, (having in my employment in Bristol and here saved so much) I adventured in conjunction with a friend, to take the ground and build upon it, and the house was finished a few weeks after our marriage; but the cost of it came to double the sum the carpenter had proposed it might be built for. This and some other things filled me with gloomy apprehensions, and I became very dull and dejected in my mind in consideration of my circumstances, finding I had gone too far, and owed what I was not able to pay. However,

as my intentions were honest, and my anxiety great that I might not by any misconduct blemish the truth, which I had been instructed so highly to prize, by exerted endeavours, with industry and frugality, and through divine assistance, in sometime I got over this difficulty, and paid every farthing.

It may perhaps appear to some, that the recording of such transactions, is of little importance or edification to uninterested readers; but it hath not appeared so to me. The account of these difficulties, which for want of due care and foresight, and a constant, steady and deep attention to the unerring guide, we fall into, though more humiliating, may perhaps be no less useful for caution, than those experiences, which we can review with more heartfelt satisfaction, are for encouragement and imitation. Truth hath ever led to integrity, punctuality and upright dealing in our outward affairs, and to limit ourselves to few exigencies, and a humble condition in life, rather than invade or risk the properties of other men. We cannot all get a deal of the treasures of this world (nor is a deal necessary to our well being. "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth") but we may all live on a little, if our minds be kept humble, and the sensual appetites be subjected to the cross of Christ. Now my view in relating how

I was (undesignedly indeed) involved in embarrassed circumstances, is for a caution to inexperienced young persons, to be very considerate and careful in their expenses, that they be neither lavished on things needless or superfluous, nor in things otherwise convenient and lawful, in a measure disproportionate to their ability to support clearly out of their own, with honour, reputation and a good conscience; (for in this circumstance things lawful in themselves are not lawful or expedient for them) that so the profession of truth may not suffer reproach by their miscarriage, as it hath done by that of too many others, to the great regret of the honest and right minded of our religious society.*

* NOTE. The correct sentiments expressed by James Gough on the subject of integrity and upright dealing in our outward affairs, are much in unison with the advice contained in the following letter from Stephen Crisp, an eminent Minister in the Society of Friends, dated 9th month, 1678.

“ From S. Crisp to J. R.

FRIEND John R.—

I am sorry I have the present occasion of writing to thee, and would have forborne, if a necessity had not been upon me for the Truth's sake, and for thine; for I have a deep sense of thy danger, and that thou art the way to dishonour thy testimony; for I am informed by several who love thee well, that they believe

The narrative of these difficulties and anxieties, that attended my first setting out in the married state, seems to me also to convey this

art run into about three hundred pounds debt, to set thyself up as a public shop-keeper. Whether they have dealt with thee about it or no, I know not; but alas, John! what is the rise and spring of this, and what will the issue be? Sink down into that which gives a discerning, and thou wilt find a secret mistrust, mixed with an earthly lust, and a crafty carrying it on, under a shew of Truth; that thereby some other things propounded, might the better proceed, or be carried on, to the making self somebody; and this ground is cursed for ever, and so will the fruit be. O! consider, is this fitting thyself for thy testimony, and the keeping thyself from entanglements in thy warfare?

Dear John, I wish thou would yet take my counsel, and send every Friend his goods home, with the money for what thou hast sold of theirs, and take thee to thy employment where God blessed thee, and in which thou grew up; and stand ready at the Lord's call, that if he please to make any public use of thee in his church, thou may be free from worldly entanglements; and if not, be content with thy daily bread, both inwardly and outwardly; and seek to adorn the Gospel thou hast preached, by a holy, simple, and righteous conversation; without which, preaching, believing, and profession, and all the highest terms men can imagine, are all in vain, and will end with an evil savour.

I have written these things, in love to thee and the precious Truth, in which my life stands, although it is often bowed down, to see so many abuse the profession of the holy Truth; serving themselves thereupon, and not caring to keep up the reputation of it; but venturing the glory of God, the reputation of his people, yea, and their

instructive intelligence to all single young persons, who have not good patrimonies, or are not yet well settled in some business, proper to maintain a family, that if they would do well in the world, they should not be hasty in this weighty affair ; but consider wisely before they proceed toward it. While single they have only themselves to care for, and if they keep their hearts staid upon the Lord (which is far easier for them to do than when weighed down under a load of care and encumbrances) and come up faithfully in the way of their duty, they will be happy. And by all means let them beware of entering into this most interesting engagement, which is for life, on which the happiness or unhappiness of this life very principally depends, and by which that of the next may be very materially promoted or retarded, till they see that in due season the Lord opens their way, and conducts them in it. Then the marriage will be honourable, the married will be like minded, standing in the counsel of best wisdom, will be truly helpmeets to each other

own souls also, for the reaching after their earthly and corruptible ends and purposes, which they have propounded to themselves. I might enlarge, to shew the many evil consequences attending this practice, but hope by what I have written thou wilt consider the rest and still account me thy friend in the truth,

S. CRISP."

both in their temporal and spiritual concerns; joining together with united and prepared hearts in religious and family duties, and strengthening each others hands for every good word and work; minding the inspeaking word, more than the attention or opinions, the approbation or censures of the world. Such if they have but little of earthly treasure are happily married. But on any other terms, whether married or unmarried, people are not in a good way. And it is infinitely better to be married to Christ, than to be married ever so grandly in the world out of the divine counsel and covenant.

As I had a religious desire in my choice, and that I might be rightly directed therein, I had reason on the whole (notwithstanding these outward discouragements aforementioned) to hope that I was so. For my wife was the child of good parents, from whom she had received a religious education, of orderly conversation, innocent and well inclined, and we were in a good degree favoured together of the Lord, she being free to give me up to every service I thought it my duty to engage in. Upon my first visit to her, the sense of truth and the solid edifying conversation of her worthy parents deeply fixed the best impressions on my spirit, so that in my return home to Cork (twenty computed miles) my thankful heart as like a cup filled, the tears of divine joy

overflowed, and ran down my cheeks the greatest part of the way.—In this thankful frame I reached Cork, and my friends there, who generally had a love for me, were pleased to see me, and to hear such an account as I had to give. But then this good went off, and the instability of nature succeeded in a great degree, though still mixed, with a reverent view to the better part.

About four months after our marriage, being at a meeting at Youghal, my heart was bowed in reverent fear, and filled with the sweet influence of God's universal love, it then appeared to be my duty, in the clearness of that light and strength of that love, to call to, and invite those present to come to Christ, and yield grateful obedience to his laws. I had been for several years before, fully persuaded that this would be required of me as a duty, and had desired never to dare to venture upon it till it should be so required.

Upon this duty being clearly presented to me in this meeting, discouragements and obstacles poured into my mind in abundance, such as that if I should deliver the words impressed, I should then be exposed to much speculation, and become the immediate subject of conversation among such as love to catch and propagate matter amusement; that perhaps the like duty might never be required of me again, and in that c

I should be likely to be remarked, and talked of for many years, as one who had begun and not gone on. Instances occurred of such as had preached amongst us for a time, and had either dropped it and fallen away, or had on one account or another, incurred a public and general dislike or disgrace, and that therefore it might be safer and better for me to rest quiet with good wishes for the people, and to exhort in a more private way, as I might have opportunity, and a fresh concern on my mind. These grounds of hesitation detained me till a Friend kneeled down to conclude the meeting in prayer.

I then saw clearly that if the meeting should break up without my uttering the exhortation, which was fixed with so much weight upon my mind, I should unavoidably incur the stings of conscious guilt, and the crime of disobedience.

Therefore not attending to the Friend's public prayer, my mind was earnestly and closely exercised in mental supplication to the Almighty, that he would abilitate me to be faithful. I had a hard struggle and conflict on this occasion : but at length the power of divine faith prevailed, to the shutting out and putting to silence all manner of discouraging apprehensions. And when the prayer was ended I durst not sit down, fearing I should not have power to rise again in me ; but turning about to the meeting, and

seeing some of the people staring me in the face, such was my weakness, that I raised up my hat, and holding it before my face, I spoke the words, which had lain with weight on my mind, and sat down. A flood of divine joy poured into my heart, and filled it all the day: I went in this frame of mind into several Friends's families, and my heart being still melted with divine love, the tears of joy and thankfulness flowed down my cheeks, which some ignorantly mistook for trouble of mind, saying one to another, *they pitied me.*

It was indeed a memorable day to me, for I seemed to myself to be raised above the sordid and sinful inhabitants of this world, and to be admitted a partner of the blessed society of saints and angels, and spirits of just men made perfect through entire obedience, rendered to their God.

I had the full assurance in myself that if then sudden death should seize me, I should immediately go to that blessed society, to live in a holy and happy communion with them for ever, to adore that God and Sovereign, who had so infinitely favoured us. And this is the very nature of that truly excellent religion, which our dear Redeemer came to bless mankind with.

I might give some small account of services and good effects, arising from my thus obeying the

THE LIFE OF

ly to be reman-
as one who he-
stances occur-
ngst us for a ti-
d fallen away,
her, incurred a
grace, and tha-
d better for n-
for the peop-
way, as I mig-
concern on my
detained me-
clude the m-
v clearly t-
without my
fixed with
I should
nscious gni-

e not attend
mind was
mental sup-
uld abilita-
ggle and co-
ne power
g out and
ouraging
was end-
uld not
turning

of the
the
of
to

divine manifestation; but accounts of that kind I leave to those who have steered more steadily than I have done, and think it more proper for me to look on the other side of my case, and that with shame and confusion of heart, mixed with humble admiration of Divine Goodness, which has hitherto indeed been great, and blest me with a few heavenly and good days, wherein I should not have been afraid of death, or of the awful and tremendous judgment which is to follow it. Oh! that I may (through faithfulness on my part) attain the like again, and that my last day may be my best day! but alas a consciousness of infidelity in divers respects is my present companion, though not with my will, or by design; but through want of maintaining a proper vigilance and devotion, and thereby losing the fortitude, which I have sometimes been invested with.

Many of our dear honourable Friends of the first generation in our society, appear from the time they were drawn to the pure fountain of light, life and love, to have adhered thereto with immoveable steadfastness to their last moments; and a few I have known in my time, that have greatly arisen, and steadily persevered (considering the degeneracy of the age) in a faithful attachment of soul to that grace and ruth which is come by Jesus Christ; and that have washed their robes white in his blood, and

have kept their garments unspotted ; but very few that have come up to this height, and so continued as with their feet fixed upon Mount Sion : very few that have got over the opposing mountains of human respect, selfish regards, sensual appetites, desires of the ease, honours, or profits of this world ; all which tend to debase the soul, darken the judgment, eclipse the brightness of heavenly light ; blunt the edge of godly resolutions, and contract the corrupting leaven and spirit of the world.

It is lamentable to reflect how many in our age, even of the anointed sons and servants of the Lord, have by these means gradually declined and dwindled, and at length totally fallen off, as Judas did from Christ, and Demas from his faithful apostle, and made shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience, and brought lasting disgrace on themselves, and that good cause, in which they had been humbly and honestly engaged. Yet truth changes not. It is the same still, and still able to preserve from falling, to build up, and give an inheritance among the sanctified.

I remember that the above considerations made me earnestly pray, that since I had given up, and put my hand to the plough, I might never look back to Sodom again, like Lot's wife ; but rather suffer any thing in this world, than disgrace the cause of truth and righteousness.

Encouraged as above, I proceeded to minister in public meetings when I had something given for that end, through which exercise my gift became gradually enlarged. But alas! I too often made false steps in my public ministry, as well as in my thoughts, words and actions in private conduct, for want of self-love being more mortified, and subjected to the spirit of Christ, which teaches divine wisdom.

Being of an active natural disposition, it became a cross to me to be silent, when it was best to be so. And sometimes after I stood up I continued too long, till the testimony as to the life of it, flattened and grew tedious to the hearers. I wanted too to imitate some others, who, I thought preached finely. Thus the enemy of man's happiness continually seeks to tempt every class in the church militant. As the eye is kept single to the Holy Head, and the body full of light, in the light he is discovered in all his approaches and transformations; but I was not constantly enough on my guard against his stratagems, and therefore was sometimes seduced even to think I did well, when I was zealous, though not according to true knowledge nor to the honour of the great name of Christ our Lord: for he is most honoured by the subjection of self; and by divine love, coupled with humility and patience.

Among the many good institutions which the

discoveries of celestial wisdom have established in our society, that of faithful elders appointed to watch over the flock, and over the ministry, has been found to be very useful. And though the love of self-honour made me sometimes bear hardly the reproof of a friend, yet I have afterwards, as in the cool of the day, discerned the expediency of it, and been induced to desire to be more careful in future, and to be willing to receive advice as well as to give it.

O ye, whom Christ calls into the work of the ministry, or any other office, give up your lives to him and it, both to do and to suffer what he may order or permit: for the vessels of the Lord's house are to be of beaten gold. Every son whom he loves he rebukes and chastens. Then ever receive with a good mind the counsel or the reproof of a friend.

If others revile and taunt in bitterness and wrath; in haughtiness and insult, as whoever will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution; yet all things will work together for good to them that steadily abide under Christ's government.—Our nature having in it much dross, and by long habit contracting an increase of it, cannot be refined from it, but by fiery trials, nor have its evil humours purged out, but by drinking the bitter cup.—Applause pleasee the creature, but greatly endangers it. Suffering in spirit, though more painful, is more safe.

O then ye! who have rightly begun, and favourably advanced in the work of truth or of the ministry, look well to your standing, and guard against the transformations of your unwearied enemy.

When we first began, our single view and desire was to obtain divine approbation, and that peace of soul, which results from it; to die to ourselves and all the world; to know no man after the flesh, nor to be known by them; but only to know the Lord, and to walk and act under his immediate notice and approving favour.—But afterwards there hath mingled herewith, the desire of human notice, of popular applause, of worldly advantages and indulgences.

Thus too many ministers, as well as others, who have given up their names to follow the Lamb, have slipped into a mixed state. In them the spring once pure, hath become muddy, and the sacred fervour hath dwindled. Though they have retained the form of godliness, yet its conquering power and fortitude have gradually died away, and left them as weak, and unable to resist temptations, as those who have never assumed that form.

This hath been the case of too many dry wordlings and sensualists in our society, who far from helping the cause, which they professed a due for, have greatly hurt it, and given a han-

dle to libertines, to make both it and them, the subject of their derision.

When the humble regard and love of God singly presided in my heart, then I have been disposed to receive the advice or the rebuke of a friend in the love in which it was given, and to bear with Christian meekness, the taunts and insults of insensible hearts and unguarded lips undisturbed thereby : but when I have slid off this foundation, then they have discomposed my mind, and agitated it with selfish and uneasy resentments.

I have not so often met with this kind of returns to my ministry, as applause, which indeed is an intoxicating and pernicious cup for any to drink without great fear. It ferments the spirits with a false alacrity ; elevates the mind with self conceit, and an imagined superiority to others, leads into an evil emulation, and even to slight those who are in much better state, by dwelling in the valley of humility, subject to Christ the beloved of their souls.

How hard for the creature not to be pleased with praise, and to offer it to him, to whom alone it is due ! or after being at any time signally honoured, to return like Mordecai dismounted, stripped of the royal robes, and to sit in a silent, abject condition at the king's gate, waiting on him in poverty of spirit.

As applause is dangerous so the affections

the people, if not keep under proper government, both by the minister and his hearers, have a snare in them, as indeed hath every object of our senses, without maintaining an inward watchfulness; these things not being the proper mark or prize of a minister or a Christian. It is base to play the harlot with corrupt self and deck it with the Lord's jewels. For if we take these rewards of our labours, we are in danger of losing that which he gives to the faithful, which is the one true and durable reward.

The spirit of the gospel directs us, to submit ourselves, or give way, one to another, to be abased, and prefer others; the strong to take the weak by the hand, and all to imitate the holy pattern of Christ, who was meek and lowly in heart, and stooped to wash the feet even of his disciples and servants.

It was by his Holy Spirit, that not only raised up a living ministry in our society, but by the same Spirit animated our faithful predecessors to establish a salutary discipline therein, upon the same foundation; and raised up and gifted men and women for valuable services, conducing to the edification and strengthening of one another in piety. Often have I sat in meetings of discipline greatly humbled, tendered and revived in my spirit, with fresh resolution to renew diligence in my journey heaven-ward.

One branch of this discipline, viz. the institution of meetings of ministers and elders, I highly regarded. For when we have (in a sense of our entire inability without his help) prostrated ourselves together before the most high God, he hath graciously vouchsafed to open the living springs of counsel, suitable to the several states and stations present, tending to stir up to diligence and devotedness in his service, and pointing out livelily in the opening of gospel light, the snares and dangers waylaying the spiritual traveller in his journey.

Often have these meetings, when we have been thus prepared for them, cemented us together in a humble engagement of soul towards God. Tender love hath abounded, which hath made us dear one to another, as children of one family and fellow labourers in the highest and best cause. Christ our Lord has favoured us with his presence, and sovereign power, and made us partakers together of his heart tendering goodness, and of a near communion, and divine fellowship with him through his Spirit, and with each other therein, to the renewing our ardent concern for the honour of his name, and the promotion of his truth.

But when this preparation hath been wanting, and inattention and absence of mind have taken place, then we have been barren as the dry heath? and like the earth, covered with darkness,

without form and void, when the Spirit of the Lord moved not on the face of the waters, Both the immediate and instrumental springs of lively and clear counsel and consolation have been closed up, and the edification and watering of the flock withheld. This hath caused living zeal, and even the attendance of them to decay, and yield to temporal affairs and temptations, to the hurt and loss of many.

May these considerations move both ministers and elders more particularly, to seek after the preparations requisite for their assembling in the name and power of Christ, and under a renewed concern for their individual preservation, as well as for that of their brethren and sisters, that they may thereby be comfortably enlivened, and enliven one another to all goodness, as men and women redeemed from the world, and fellow citizens of the New Jerusalem. Then, of great and valuable benefit indeed, would these solemn meetings be, as heretofore, when faithful labourers in the Lord's service, dignified, adorned and upheld them.

When I had resided about three years in Ireland, my brother John, whom I left in the service of Thomas Bennet, at Pickwick, Wilts, as noticed before, being desirous to fix his residence in the same nation at least with me, at the expiration of his fourth year there, resigned his place of usher to that school, in order to remove to Ireland

and going first to see our mother and relations at Kendal, she concluded to accompany him in order to pay us a visit of a few weeks, and about the middle of the summer 1740, they both arrived at Cork. After about five weeks abode with us, my mother inclined to return home ; and I having a concern on my mind to visit my native country in the service of truth, and my brother's arrival opening the way to set me at liberty, he willingly taking charge of my school in my absence, I concluded to accompany my mother in her return ; and having laid my concern before the men's meeting and obtained their certificate, and soon meeting with a vessel bound to Whitehaven, we embarked therein, and had a favourable passage, being only about forty eight hours from port to port.

This journey took me up about five weeks, in which time I visited the meetings of Friends pretty generally through the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, and part of the north of Yorkshire, being frequently much favoured by the master of our assemblies, and often enlarged in the love of the gospel amongst my former relations, friends and neighbours, who were many of them glad to see me, and with many of whom I was nearly united in the unity of the one spirit, the bond of peace.

* In particular I was at a general meeting at Crook, about four miles from Kendal, which was eminently favoured, and after it, went to lodge at Lydia Lancaster's, a valuable minister, and a mother in Israel. Next morning I went to their meeting at Colthouse near Hawkshead, and after meeting went to William Rawlinson's to lodge. Next morning in very wet stormy weather, I went to Height meeting. Most of the Friends belonging to this meeting lived at some miles distance from it; yet they generally attended it, and I believe were generally thankful that they did so, so much of the cementing virtue and power of the gospel prevailed therein.

* Here a sheet of the original is lost, which I have not been able to recover; I regret the loss, not only as it occasions a chasm in the narration, but by the recollection I have of my brother's epistolary and verbal relations of this journey, I apprehend, we are deprived of sundry occurrences, worthy of preserving. One in particular I have heard him on his return (and at other times) relate in terms so lively and affecting, as indicated it had fixed a deep impression on his mind: so that I think he would not pass it unnoticed, and that we have lost in this missing sheet. When he came to Pardshaw meeting in Cumberland, he received intelligence that our ancient valuable friend, that faithful minister of the gospel in his day, James Dickenson, was then confined by sickness, and apparently near his conclusion; whereupon he went to pay him a visit, and found him in such a happy, heavenly frame of mind, as made the opportunity very tenderly affecting and edifying: raised above the world he

After meeting I went with James Rowlandson's family to his house at Frith. His daughter Jane had for a little while past appeared at times in the public ministry in our meetings. So much of tenderness, and of inward fervency toward Christ, the beloved of her soul, prevailed in her, as to make deep and lively impressions on my mind.

Next day, that family accompanied me over the sands to a meeting at Swarthmore, and I returned with them, and from thence back to Kendal. The said Jane Rowlandson afterwards married George Crosfield, became a valuable minister, visited Ireland twice while I lived there, and the continent of America once.

In the course of this journey I was favoured with the company and countenance of sundry Friends, whom in my younger years I had held

was departing from, and well prepared for that celestial mansion, he was favoured with a lively hope of being shortly admitted into; in this his concluding scene, among other affecting expressions he related of his, I recollect the following in purport, "I have served the Lord and his truth in my generation, and now I feel the blessed reward thereof: the accuser of the brethren is cast down as to me, and my peace with God is sealed for ever." This, he related, was delivered in such a feeling, powerful and affecting manner as greatly tendered his spirit, and left the best impressions upon it, animating him to fresh and ardent desires, so to fulfil his ministry, and walk through life, as that he might die the death of the righteous, and that his last end might be like his.

in estimation, by reason of the good impressions I received from their exemplary lives and labours, as before noted in its place. My quondam master, David Hall, treated me with affectionate respect; he had buried his former wife, who was my mistress, and married again. He and his wife accompanied me to a meeting at Airton. I lodged at Thomas Anderson's, a Friend in the ministry, who visited Ireland in company with David Hall; he was blind, but exceeding pleasant and cheerful. Next morning being a hard frost, I went with the said Thomas and other Friends over a great hill to a monthly meeting at Settle. By me in the gallery sat Julian Frankland, a good old woman, near ninety years of age, and a good meeting it was.

At and about Kendal also, I had much of the company of that honourable minister and elder, James Wilson, who as a nursing father encouraged and strengthened me in the service I was engaged in. His conversation was often pleasant, instructing, and edifying; one remarkable passage he related, I think worthy of inserting, which was to the following purport.

In his young years (having been educated in the established religion or church of England so called) he had conceived a very contemptible opinion of the people called Quakers and their principles, and at a public house or inn, sitting in company with some others, of like

sentiments, this people became the subject of their discourse; and as they were expressing their sentiments of contempt and dislike of them pretty freely, a person of some note, who had been an officer under Oliver Cromwell, came into the room, and overhearing their discourse, observed to them in substance, "That he apprehended their prejudice towards this people arose from their want of knowing them: for my part (continued he) I entertain very different sentiments of them;" and perceiving them struck with admiration to hear him, whom they looked upon as a man of sense, as well as consequence, express himself after this manner, he proceeded to the following purpose. "You seem to wonder that I express a favourable opinion of the Quakers, I will inform you the reason. After the battle of Dunbar, as I was riding in Scotland at the head of my troop, I observed at some distance from the road, a crowd of people, and one higher than the rest; upon which I sent one of my men to see, and bring me word what was the meaning of this gathering, and seeing him ride up and stay there, without returning according to my order, I sent a second, who staid in like manner, and then I determined to go myself. When I came thither, I found it was James Naylor preaching to the people; but with such power and reaching energy, as I had not till then been witness

of. I could not help staying a little, although I was afraid to stay; for I was made a Quaker, being forced to tremble at the sight of myself. I was struck with more terror by the preaching of James Naylor, than I was at the battle of Dunbar, when we had nothing else to expect, but to fall a prey to the swords of our enemies, without being able to help ourselves. I clearly saw the cross to be submitted to, so I durst stay no longer, but got off, and carried condemnation for it in my own breast. The people there, in the clear and powerful opening of their states, cried 'out against themselves, imploring mercy, a thorough change, and the whole work of salvation to be effected in them. Ever since I have thought myself obliged to acknowledge on their behalf, as I have now done."

This, James Wilson said, proved the first step towards his conviction of our principles, inclining him to go to our meetings, which before he had an aversion to the thoughts of, from the prejudice above hinted. In those days the meetings of Friends were more eminently favoured with divine power, as they lived more devoted to Christ, and consequently more abounding with his love flowing in their hearts.

I was ready to think that Isaac Alexander had been instrumental to his conviction. I find it recorded in the third volume of the

Dying Sayings, that the said Isaac died at his house. Of him he gave me the following account, that "being in himself an illiterate rustic, soon after his conviction, he appeared in the ministry lively and powerful. A neighbour of his, having heard of his becoming a preacher, could not tell how sufficiently to express his admiration; he made it the subject of his discourse from place to place, deriding him who had no learning for presuming to preach, and the people for suffering him.

"This man attended the funeral of that great and good woman, Ann Camm. The meeting proved an exceeding enlightening, tendering opportunity: and even this derider was contrited and humbled therein. Isaac Alexander was eminently raised up in his gift, to set forth the goodness, and the justice of God; the glory of truth, the happiness of obeying it, and the lasting infelicity of neglecting and rebelling against it. The man was so thoroughly penetrated with a clear sight of his own case, that after Isaac had done, he stood up in that very assembly, acknowledged the crime he had been guilty of, and begged the prayers of all good Christians, that it might be forgiven him."

I mostly finished my service in England in this journey, with the quarterly meeting for Lancashire, at Lancaster, and that for Westmoreland, at Kendal, held in succession. At

the former, I met with Abraham Fuller, of Dublin, who had accompanied Moses Aldridge from New England, in his religious visit to Friends in Scotland, and was now, as well as myself on his return home ; our meeting being quite unexpected, was a very pleasing surprise to us both ; especially as we were likely to be companions to Dublin. Here also I met with Samuel Fothergill, then young in the ministry ; but even then appearing with that solemnity, brightness, and gospel authority, as gave Friends lively hopes of his proving, as he did, through the successive stages of his life, a bright and shining light, a vessel of honour indeed, of eminent service in the church of Christ. The public service in the said quarterly meeting, fell to the share of us who were young, (though many weighty experienced ministers present,) and our good Master being with us, it proved a refreshing satisfactory, and edifying meeting.

From Lancaster we went directly to the quarterly meeting at Kendal, which was also a good meeting, and the beginning of the succeeding week, we proceeded to Whitehaven, in order to take shipping for Dublin, where we arrived on seventh day following and I lodged at Joseph Gill's. I attended the meeting there the next day, and heavenly help being near, I was furnished with ability and matter, to minister to the general satisfaction and edification of

Friends, and the ease of my own mind. And my being at that time quite a stranger to most Friends in that city, and coming quite unexpected, occasioned pretty much enquiry among them.

From Dublin I proceeded toward Limerick, by Mountmellick, Mountrath, and Kilconismore, where John Ashton was then living, a valuable good man, little inferior to most I have known in my estimation. Although not eminent for great and shining parts; yet he was a shining light in the country where he resided, in love and good works; a man of great humility, and fervour of soul for the promotion of piety; much beloved and esteemed of his neighbours and friends.

When I came to the good old man's house (being now near eighty years of age) he was very much indisposed: and it being about the middle of the eighth month, O. S. or October, and the Friends in that part being late with some part of their harvest, he proposed notwithstanding his infirmity to accompany me to Limerick: a great day's journey for him when he was well, as the roads were then: and his relations, apprehending it too hazardous for him to undertake under his present indisposition, endeavoured to dissuade him from it: which made me desirous that he might not suffer in

his health, nor meet with any dissatisfaction of mind.

It proved a fine day. He grew much better, and his conversation was very edifying. Our friends at Limerick rejoiced greatly to see him, being the last time of his being there. Next day being first day, we had two comfortable meetings there. On second day morning at parting, he told me he was well paid for coming. He was well and hearty the winter following, and the next spring set forward towards the half-year's meeting at Dublin, but having reached Birr, he found himself unable to go further, returned home, and after a short illness departed this life, leaving behind him a general testimony all round the country on his behalf, as of one who had eminently served God, loved mankind, and was greatly beloved by almost every one that knew him.

He and his wife were both convinced at one meeting at Birr, through the powerful ministry of that able and eminent minister of the gospel, Thomas Wilson. Coming out of that meeting, they said to each other, "The way of everlasting happiness had been clearly laid down before them, and they were resolved to walk in it, come life or come death."

Not long after, John was thrown into prison for his christian testimony against the oppressive and antichristian yoke of tithes ; here, being

used to work without doors, he was at a loss how to employ his time ; but soon learned to make gartering and laces.

When at liberty, he with his wife, constantly twice a week attended the meeting at Birr, generally walking on foot thither, being about seven English miles and a very bad road, wading through a river in the way, both going and returning. In winter in crossing this river they sometimes had the ice to break ; and John said he had wept to see the blood on his wife's legs in coming through it. In those days truth was precious to its professors, who also possessed it, and no difficulties or dangers could prevent them from getting to their religious meetings, to enjoy the renewings of divine love and life, with their brethren.

This good man also took great pains to get travelling Friends to appoint meetings at his house ; and then to acquaint people thereof several miles round, travelling for that purpose by night, as well as by day, in the winter season, and in severe weather, and underwent much reproach for this labour and diligence of his.

Yet he was blessed in it, both inwardly and outwardly, many came to the meetings at his house, several were convinced of the truth and in process of time a meeting was settled there,

and grew larger than that of Birr, out of which it had sprung.

He was at the time of his joining our society: but in low circumstances: but through industry and the blessing of heaven he grew rich, and did abundance of good, being singularly hospitable, liberal, and charitable.

At the above said meeting at Birr, through the ministry of Thomas Wilson, there was also convinced his wife's daughter Mary, the wife of James Sheppard. This was a great mortification to her husband, who tried various means to reclaim her. At length a noted preacher being to preach at the worship-house he frequented, he proposed to his wife, that if she would go with him to hear him, he would go with her next Sunday (as he called it) to the meeting at Birr, to which proposal she assented. She went accordingly, and heard fine words and eloquence: but that was not what her soul wanted.

Next first-day pursuant to his engagement he went with her to Birr. It proved to be a silent meeting there: yet through the reverent attendance of the soul of those present upon Christ the best minister, they were favoured together with his life-giving presence, and the said James was reached, and tendered in the view of the self-denying path which leads to peace with God.

Hereupon, what he little expected at his go-

ing to that meeting, he immediately joined in society with Friends, and became a serviceable man in his station.

After parting with John Ashton, I proceeded toward Cork, and reached it next morning before meeting.

Soon after I visited some parts of Leinster province. After my return I spared my brother, at the request of Benjamin Wilson near Edenderry, to be tutor to his children, and those of a neighbouring Friend. When he had been there about a year and a half, I wrote to him to prepare (after duly apprising his employers) to return to Cork, having a desire for once, while I had an opportunity, of his supplying my place, to be at the Welch, Bristol, and London yearly meetings; and though the family was loath to part with him, yet as I wanted him on this account, he disengaged himself and returned to Cork, in due time for me to proceed on the service before me.

Accordingly in the beginning of the first month, O. S. (now called the third) I embarked on a sixth day morning at Cork; on seventh day at night by favour of the light-houses we got into Milford Haven. On first-day morning I walked to Haverfordwest, where I met with Abraham Fuller of Dublin, whom I consulted how I should steer my course to North Wales as I understood here, that the Welch yearly

meeting was to be about a month from this time in this neighbourhood, viz. at Tenby in Pembrokeshire.

Abraham advised me to order my course so, as to be at John Goodwin's on a first-day, because there was generally a large resort of people there on that day, and gave me his directions how to accomplish it, which I was pleased with, having heard before of that good old man, and having a desire to be then at his house.

On third day after meeting I left Haverfordwest, and had a meeting next day at Caermarthen: on fifth day morning went to John Bowen's at Penplase, expecting to have a meeting there, but he being gone to their monthly meeting at John Reece's, at Penbank, I followed him thither, where I found a considerable number met: after I had sat down, old John Reece stood up and preached to us in Welch. On sixth day I went to the widow Evan's at Llandewy-brevy, in Cardiganshire, and expected next day to reach John Goodwin's, at Escargogh in Monmouthshire.

Next morning the Friend who was to have been my guide came into my chamber long before day, when I was about getting up, having an earnest desire to reach John Goodwin's that day. He informed me "I could not go thither that day without running the risk of my life, as it snowed very hard, and it was a moun-

tainous road." I presently got up, and found myself obliged to stay there, to the no small disappointment of my desire.

I then went to their market town called Tregarron, and had two meetings there that day, the latter of which was large. Next day being first day, hearing of a priest called Daniel Rowland, whose parish worship-house was at Llangeithow, three miles beyond Llandewy-brevy, who was much flocked after by many people, even from other parishes, thither I went accompanied by three Friends. When we arrived we found the house full, and many at the outside who seemed to listen to the preacher with attention, who was preaching in Welch. I desired a young man to endeavour to get in to the Parson, and acquaint him that an Englishman without, wanted to speak to him, which I suppose he did. For when he had ended his sermon the congregation broke up, and he came out one of the first.

I went to meet him and told him, "I had found my mind drawn in Christian love to visit him and his congregation, and therefore desired then the opportunity to deliver to him and them what was on my mind." After some enquiries he said, "It was not convenient then, as he had himself preached largely to the people." Finding myself clear of him, I got upon a pretty high tombstone, and the people general-

ly drew near, being a very large multitude. The opportunity was greatly favoured, I being engaged to invite the people to Christ, the free teacher, and of him to receive wine and milk (strength and nourishment to their souls) without money and without price: though the people stood close crowded, there seemed to be as great a stillness as if scarce any were there. After I had ended what at that time flowed through my heart to them, I stood a little with my mind reverently and thankfully affected. At length I looked round to see on which side I might most easily retire. Some of the people near, who perceived it, desired that "I would pray for them before I left them." I answered that "I did indeed pray for them, but as for doing it vocally I durst not, unless it appeared at that time to be my duty to do so." They asked me "Whither I intended to go next," I told them "To Llambeter, about five miles off, where I intended to have a meeting that afternoon." Thither many of them went.

When I had got a little way on the road, I was overtaken by one, who looked like a gentleman, on horseback, with his wife riding behind a man on another horse, he told me "He had come out of Caermarthenshire fourteen miles over the hills to hear Daniel Rowland, asking if I should come into that county, that if I did : would meet me any where in it, if he could

know the time and place ; but would be better pleased if I could come and lodge a night with him," which I afterward did.

As I advanced a little further, a certain woman, not of our profession, invited me and Friends with me to dine, and gave us the best entertainment in her power. She expressed with solidity, " She had not understood one word I had said ; but had felt that which had done her heart good," as a Friend interpreted her words to me.

Many people flocking to Llabeter, the meeting was held in the street. After it I parted with the people in mutual affection, and returned to Llandewy-brevy in company with Friends and others. I was at this time much overcome with the Lord's goodness, and thankful for the aforesaid disappointment of my desire, as believing it to be in the ordering of best wisdom, for the service of the day, being filled with a comfortable hope I was in my proper place, which caused the tears to run down my cheeks, most of the way I had to ride.

When I returned to my quarters, viz. the Widow Evans's near Llandewy-brevy, a great number of the neighbouring people were come thither and an unexpected meeting ensued, wherein several were broken and tendered in the time of silence. I briefly observed " that it had been made a good day to several of us, expressing my desire that it might be duly remembered by

us." And in this lively tenderness we took our leave of one another.

But alas, when I came thither eighteen years after this, I found little sign left of that fervency towards God, which then seemed impressed on their minds. The enemy had got entrance, and too much stolen it away.

Next day I got to John Goodwin's, and he told me "he believed I was come in the right time, there having been but few at his house the day before, by reason of the snow that had fallen thereabout." He accompanied me from his house to a meeting at the edge of Shropshire.

John told me that his father and mother were both convinced of the truth about the same time and received it in the love of it. At that time his father was clerk of the parish, and master of the free school thereof; but upon his joining with friends, and giving up faithfully to divine conviction, he was turned out of both these places, and obliged to have recourse to hard labour, wherein his mother heartily joined: but that himself their eldest child, then well grown toward the state of youth, not understanding their case, thought them fools to turn Quakers, and resolved he would not be like them in that: nor did they offer any compulsion to him therein: but their prayers, put up to the Lord for him, vere manifestly answered; and they had in their son the comfort they desired. At this time

Friends were grown numerous in Wales ; but soon after, upon the encouragement given by William Penn, most of the Friends in some parts of this Principality, removed and settled in Pennsylvania, and amongst the rest John's father and mother, with most of their children. From inclination he would have removed with them, but a higher power directed his stay in his native land, and to that he gave up father and mother and every thing. This good man recounted to me the great favours of the Lord to him all along to that day, to the following purport.

"When the Lord pointed out poor Wales as a field of labour for me, he promised that if I was faithful to him in it, he would be with me and favour me therein : and now I have in my heart a testimony for him in my old age that he hath abundantly made good his promise to me, both outwardly and inwardly, far beyond what at that day, I could have ever expected." Which favours in divers respects he related over to me in a very edifying thankful frame of mind : and speaking of his wife in particular, he related the steps by which the Lord, whom they loved and served, conducted and joined them together ; lively adding, "I think I may say, if ever man in the world got his right wife, I got mine." He further told me that he lived and maintained his family on a farm of four

pounds a year, but at length had purchased it and improved it, so that at that time he reckoned it worth six pounds a year. The first journey he travelled in the ministry, being to visit Friends through Wales, he had then got of clear money above forty shillings in all; and he was free to spend it, if there were occasion, in the Lord's service, knowing that he could give him, or enable him to get more; that the first time he began to entertain travelling Friends (most of the meeting being then gone off to Pennsylvania) he had but one bed which he left to them, he and his wife taking up their lodging in the stable. Divers have been convinced by his ministry: and one of the principal worthies of our age I have esteemed him.

The foregoing narrative of this worthy elder was edifying and profitable to me, not only at the time, but frequently since in the review and recollection thereof: and I thought it worthy of recital as conveying profitable instruction to every class of readers whether of high or low degree: to the former a lesson of instruction how humbly thankful they ought to be to the gracious giver of all good things, for his extensive bounty to them, when they consider this truly good man, in circumstances we should reckon mean indeed, and a manner of living suitable to his circumstances, bearing a lively and grateful testimony to the goodness,

mercy and truth of the Lord in his gracious dealings with him. Also when he dedicates his little *all* (in faith) to his Lord's service, doth he not in the silent and reaching language of example, convey this intelligence to thy soul, who art blessed with abundance? "*Go thou and do likewise; Honour the Lord with thy substance and the first fruits of all things increase;*" "*Love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God;*"† deeply pondering in thy heart "*How much owest thou to the Lord?*"

And those of low circumstances from hence may learn that happiness is confined to no station in this life; but is the result of observing the law of God in the inward parts, being, as it prescribes, content with the things which we have, not minding high things; but reducing our desires to the level of our station in life, that so we may fill it with propriety and act our parts well: if we thus walk by the unerring rule of truth, though we be esteemed poor in this world, we shall be rich in faith, and, with this worthy man enjoy in the obscurity of the humble cottage what palaces too seldom afford, solid content, the consolation of a conscience void of offence, and in reward of well-doing, "the peace of God that passeth the understandings of men." The most splendid and

* Prov. chap. iii. ver. 9. † Mic. ch. vi. ver.

extensive earthly possessions, when laid in the balance against durable possessions like these, are indeed as nothing and lighter than vanity.

Having parted with John Goodwin, I went to Shrewsbury, Colebrooke-dale, Bewdley, Worcester, Birmingham, Coventry, Warwick, Evesham, then back by Worcester to Bromyard, Hereford, Amley, and into Radnorshire in Wales, to Brinfloyd and Talcot. To this last place came Mary Rickaby of Yorkshire from Landewy-brevy, much tired; but after a little rest and refreshment she had an edifying opportunity in the family; and from hence she, with Miriam Bowen, and her uncle Edward Jones accompanied me to the Welch yearly meeting, as did also John Young from Leominster, who met me at Hereford for that purpose, and was an acceptable companion.

Next morning we set out from Talcot about five o'clock, and got to Nathaniel Anthony's a little after meeting time, a meeting having been appointed beforehand there, to begin at five in the evening. After meeting John Young and I went to lodge with that couple, who had before invited me near Llangeithow, where we met with a kind and cordial reception, and found them fervent in desire after godliness. Next morning we met Mary Rickaby, and sundry other Friends at John Bowen's. Thence went to an evening meeting at Caermarthen,

which was large. Next day being seventh day we went to John Lewis's house in the country ; on first day with him to the meeting at Redstone, and in the afternoon were at a large meeting at Haverford west : and from hence on third day we went to the yearly meeting at Tenby.

After the yearly meeting, I went by Swansea and Trevereeg to Pontipool, being accompanied by good old Evan Evans. Thence by Shernulton and Ross to Gloucester, and from thence round by Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Wiltshire, to Bristol yearly meeting ; and from thence by Bath, Bradford, Shaftsbury, Poole, Ringwood, and Southampton, and the Isle of Wight, to that of London.

At Shaftsbury the meeting had been pretty much dropped for several years, there being none of our profession left, but an old Friend, a tanner, and his two sisters : but at this time several were in part convinced, and thereupon the meeting revived. I was there on a first day, and had three meetings, which were large. The second day I spent in visiting families, and in the evening had a concluding meeting with Friends, and those newly convinced. It was a satisfactory time ; and one man's wife who had been in great grief, passion, and bitterness, on account of her husband's joining in our profession, was herself gained, and joined him and

Friends; and another woman likewise joined us at the same time : yet the fervency which was then felt, proved but of short duration with several of them. However the meeting hath continued ; a new meeting house was built there since that time, and the quarterly meeting of the county of Dorset is sometimes held there.

On my return from the Isle of Wight, Thomas Whitehead and Philip Eliot met me at Portsmouth, and accompanied me thence to London, with young Abel Hollis, of the Isle of Wight, who was then hopeful ; next day being the fourth of the week we came to Alton ; after meeting there on fifth day we came to an evening meeting at Godalmin. Sixth day morning were at a meeting at Guildford. After meeting being joined by Samuel Bownas and Jeremiah Waring, we came to Esher, and next morning to London to the yearly meeting.

In this journey Samuel Bownas was particularly kind and fatherly to me. We were together at Gracechurch Street meeting on first day morning, which was a good meeting, and wherein I was favoured in a good degree.

Thomas Whitehead and Philip Eliot accompanied me after the yearly meeting was over to a meeting at Hertford. From Hertford I went to Hitchin, Jordan's, High Wycombe, &c., was at the quarterly meeting at Okeham for the

counties of Leicester and Rutland, and at those at Lincoln, York, Lancaster, and Kendal.

At this yearly meeting were no representatives from Ireland, but Abraham Fuller and I. John Pim of Edenderry and his brother Joshua Pim of Mountrath came as far as Coventry: and there the said Joshua, a valuable Friend and elder was visited with a distemper, which for a time seemed dangerous. He recovered, but not till some time after the yearly meeting was over.

The like afterwards happened to another good Friend and elder Joseph Williams of Randal's Mills, who reached London, and was there by indisposition prevented from getting out to any meeting; such trials being sometimes permitted for the proving and exercising the faith and patience of the Lord's servants.

In this journey I often travelled hard, and had two meetings a day wherever I could. It took me about five months. At Lincoln quarterly meeting Friends lodged at inns: I do not remember that I knew any Friends there, but John Scott from Leeds, and May Drummond. It being now about midsummer, the public meeting began at twelve o'clock, their men's meeting about two, and ended before four. In those two meetings I had been shut up. I met with an elderly Friend and asked him, how Friends spent the residue of the long even —

he answered, in conversing together or taking a walk, or the like. I told him I thought it was a pity, considering the large number of young people come together from sundry parts of the county, that I thought the end would be better answered, by some religious opportunity or meeting, that might tend to edification, and be of benefit to some at least. He replied, they used to have evening meetings; but being on one hand much infested with rude people, and on the other too often weakly conducted, they proved dissatisfactory, and for these reasons Friends had thought it best to discontinue them.

Hereupon we were called in to dinner; but I had little appetite: after dinner I was called out. Some of the elders had drawn together and upon my coming to them, signified if I had a concern for an evening meeting that they were willing to appoint one to begin at the sixth hour. I was afraid yet durst not refuse the proposal, so upon my assenting, the meeting was appointed; it was much crowded, and the life and power of truth was in dominion, which eased my mind of its burden and filled it with thankfulness.

From hence John Scott, May Drummond and I, came together with divers other Friends to a meeting at Gainsborough, and on the first day ter, were, at the general meeting at Warns-

worth, where we met with Joseph Storr. From thence John Scott and I came together to the monthly meeting at Leeds, where we met with our valuable ancient friend William Slater. From Leeds I went in company with William Hird and his wife to the monthly meeting at Knaresborough, at which was John Fothergill, and from thence to the quarterly meeting at York, to which came in particular John Richardson, expected by few, having been thought to be near death for some time before, but being recovered a little, though still very feeble in body, but strong in faith, and warm in love to God and the brethren; in a journey of three days, which he had used to accomplish in one or less, he reached this city, to have one more solemn opportunity with his Friends at this meeting.

In the meeting of ministers the good old man was enlarged in much weighty and pertinent counsel in the clear opening of Gospel light.

From York I came with Mary Slater to Skipton, and from thence was accompanied by John Binns to a general meeting at Croshabooth, where I met with Samuel Fothergill, Margaret Birtwhistle (afterwards married to Jonathan Rain) and Sarah Routh, who afterwards married William Taylor; next day in company with the two last to the quarterly meeting at Lancaster.

Here in the meeting of ministers, Margare

Birtwhistle appeared lively and very suitably.

When I reached Whitehaven, I there met Susanna Morris and Elizabeth Morgan of Pennsylvania, just landed from Dublin, having visited Ireland. Susanna Morris was a good old woman and a sound minister, whose faith was remarkably tried; having twice suffered shipwreck on the coast of Ireland, and once, as I have heard, on the western coast of Europe; yet was preserved by that power and providence on which she relied, and her faith not weakened thereby.

One time it happened in the north of Ireland, and the other time off Dungarvan, when, as I have been credibly informed, after hanging some hours in the shrouds, apparently in imminent danger of being swept away by the waves every minute, and the storm continuing so violent that no boatman durst venture out to their relief, a popish priest was made the instrument of her preservation, who by his influence and authority roused some of the inhabitants, at the risk of their lives to attempt the relief of her and others, which they providentially effected, and brought her and Joseph Taylor particularly safe ashore.

When I landed from Whitehaven at Dublin, I there received a letter from my brother, informing me that their next province meeting was to be at Limerick next first day. Garret

Hassen accompanying me, we left Dublin on fourth day morning, and came that evening to Samuel Neale's at Christian's town, and were next day at the week-day meeting at Rathangan, and after meeting went to John Ridgeway's at Ballycarrol; next day we reached Roscrea, and Limerick the day following. At this province meeting I was prevailed on to stay and join in a visit to Friends' families, towards which service Garret had before expressed some concern on his mind. We were accompanied by Joshua Beale of Cork, John Philips, George Pease and William Richardson of Limerick. It proved a memorable season, the pure influence of truth having prevailed in the preceding province meeting, had so prepared Friends' minds, that we found in general great openness, and in some families scarcely a dry eye. No hardness that I remember, appeared, except in one family: and the head of that family, being a pursuer of the world, some time after failed considerably in debt. From thence I came straight home to Cork.

On the whole of this long journey, and my third with a certificate, I have this observation to make. In my two first journeys being much among tender religious Friends, my labour was easy and edifying, and I often had great consolation and divine satisfaction among them: but in this last, coming to many places that wer

poor and flat as to the life of religion, and where other things more prevailed, I often had suffering seasons, and came off but poorly.

In the next summer after my return, I removed from Cork, leaving my said brother John Gough there in my place, into Leinster province, and settled near Mountmellick.

I have good reason to believe that I followed right direction, and the gracious call of divine goodness in this removal, on divers accounts, as in the good hand of God, the author of all good, it proved a blessing both to my wife and myself. There lived hereaway at that time divers valuable spiritually minded Friends, through whose tender regard, counsel and help we gained fresh good, and to whom we felt great nearness of heart, and dear affection, in the pure love of the one eternal Spirit.

Here I tried something of the linen business, but found myself so unfit for dealing with the common people, that I saw, notwithstanding the kind assistance of some friends, I was not like to gain any thing by following this business. And as I had little else at present for a livelihood, it sometimes spread a dejection over my mind. Such dispensations are humbling, deeply exercising our faith and patience, and proving our foundation and our confidence in divine protection and reliance on heavenly help. They are what we generally call trials; and so they are: but

when we consider that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and that the cattle of a thousand hills are his ; are not his favours trials as well as his chastisements ? Affluence appears to me a trial as well as discouraging outward prospects ; but a trial of a different nature, that is of our fidelity as stewards of the mercies of God, to whom we are all to be accountable for the discharge of the trust he has invested us with, that we consume them not upon our lusts, as if that was our own which was given us to do good with and be helpful to others who may stand in need ; and as the sunshine of prosperity is apt to lift men up too high, into a state of inconsiderateness and dissipation, I have thought it as a trial, whereby we are under great danger and temptation : and have a greater cross to take up to be what we ought to be, than in humbler stations. It has not fallen to my lot to be much proved with trials of this kind, and I am led to believe that divine wisdom, who orders all things well, knew best what was best for me. For when prospects of things were pleasing, I was too prone to be too much elevated, and therefore needed to be brought and kept low : but in the midst of my discouragements, a door of hope often opened to me from the internal evidence and persuasion of my being in my right place and of faith that all things would work together for good, if we were preserved through all

love and fear the Lord, and so I humbly trust it proved. For my wife under the like discouragement being brought low in her mind, it proved in the hand of God a good step to her to the more certain enjoyment of his blessed presence, and the comforts of his good Spirit: she meeting with the like precious visitation here, as I had done before in Bristol, which made us partakers together of the sweet sense of the gracious regard of Him that is above all, and closely linked us together in true unity, and deep thankfulness, which often raised in us, to our unspeakable joy, the cheering hope of a dwelling place, with the sanctified of the Lord in the regions of bliss. May I never forget such seasons of unmerited mercy and goodness.

In the spring of the next year my mind was again drawn to visit some parts of Cumberland and Westmoreland. John Pim of Lacky and his wife offered me their eldest son Moses for a companion, which I accepted. We met at his brother-in-law Samuel Neale's at Christian's town. Thence we went next day some miles out of our way to see our dear friend Mary Peisley being at that time in affliction.

She had been a gay young woman, but in the youthful years of her gaiety, she was favoured with a powerful and prevailing visitation of divine love, and giving up faithfully to the heavenly vision, she became a vessel of honour

in the master's house, receiving a gift in the ministry, and being reverently, watchfully and lively exercised therein to the edification of Friends where her lot was cast. She was indeed a useful member and a shining ornament to the church.

I am ready to conclude, that none in our day from the time of this the effectual visitation of Christ to her soul, adhered with more steadiness to his guidance, through a variety of probations. She was most part of her time a member of the same monthly meeting with myself. Often were we together in public meetings; often on family visits.

She visited friends in England, Ireland and North America pretty generally; and soon after her return from her last journey married our friend Samuel Neale, and in a few days after departed this life. I attended both at her marriage and her funeral, and I am satisfied that she is gone to enjoy for ever the reward of a well spent life, very much devoted to the service of God, and the promotion of truth upon earth.

After this visit of friendship, we got to Dublin on seventh day evening, and there on enquiry I was informed at several places, that the whole fleet of Whitehaven ships had gone off that day; but in my return from the quay, accompanied by my kind landlord Thomas

Strangman, met a man, who told us there was one prevented from getting off. So I stayed the two meetings in Dublin the next day, and had a satisfactory time with my dear Friends there. After dinner on second day we embarked, and on third day about noon landed at Whitehaven. That afternoon I went to John Harris's, and next morning set off with him and his wife, a valuable minister, to the quarterly meeting at Carlisle.

One thing appeared to me pleasingly remarkable at that time. By reason of wet weather, people there were backward at their country work, and then very busy, yet several of the men put forward their wives to go to the quarterly meeting, as they intended themselves to go to the northern yearly meeting to be at Kendal about two weeks from that time. We were that day pretty many in company, but more women than men, though both the roads and the weather were but indifferent. Hence I concluded that no other motive, but that of religious desire drew them from home. It affected my mind, and made me hope for a good meeting. The widow of our worthy friend Robert Atkinson, then about eighty years of age, with two other elderly women walked on foot eight miles to it.

On fifth day the quarterly meeting began, and on sixth day ended, and was a large and good

meeting. On seventh day I reached Kendal, and visited meetings thereaway till the yearly meeting; and after it spent a few days thereabout, took leave of my poor mother, and never saw either the place of my nativity or her any more. She lived only about two or three years after this, and was favoured in her latter days with peace and quiet; which was mercifully continued to her last end.

This journey began well, like all my others; but, alas! it did not so continue and end, for want of my steadily adhering to the all-wise guide in my whole conduct. Yet I received instruction from it, and learned to exercise more care in some things, wherein I saw I had missed my way.

I embarked at Whitehaven for Dublin; but we were driven to the north, and put into Carlingford about fifty miles from Dublin. The passengers were three men and three women, and this being a poor place, we could only get two mean wretched horses, on which we helped the women by turns to Dundalk about eight or ten miles. From Dundalk we hired three horses which carried double well to Drogheda where we lodged. Here were no horses to be met with. So meeting with a return chaise I agreed for the three women to go in it, and myself setting forward on foot in company with one of the passengers, I arrived in Dublin in

good time, and was at the half year's meeting there which was a satisfactory season.

Still seeing little or no prospect of getting any thing by the linen business, one morning Thomas Boake, schoolmaster of Mountmellick, came to acquaint me, that the doctor had told him he must quit the school or lose his life (being then in a bad state of health,) and to advise with me and others thereupon. He soon quitted it, and I succeeded him, in a school poor indeed, as I found it, at my first entering upon it; for except a few Friends whose children I had, who duly paid me, most of the rest put me off with promises, few of which were ever performed; so that a dull prospect still threatened, and looking back in my mind to both Bristol and Cork, I thought it a strange condition to which I was now reduced; yet hope in the Lord some times supported and cheered my mind; and it was not long till things began to wear a better face; for first some Friends of Dublin, and afterwards others from other parts sent their sons to board with us till we had above twenty boys boarded in our house, for whom we were well and duly paid.

About ten years after our marriage, my wife was delivered of a son, whom we named John, and in a few days after she departed this life. For about two years before her decease she had been engaged a little in the work of the minis-

try; but her principal service was in Friends' families and in the womens' meetings (in which her service was much missed, when she was removed.) She died in a sweet frame of mind; and in near unity with good Friends.

My brother had married at Youghal a relation of my wife's, upon whose death he and his wife came into my house at my desire; and in the winter following I visited Ulster province pretty fully and thoroughly, being at sundry meetings twice over; in this journey I was favoured with the company of old Robert Richardson many miles, and to many meetings in severe weather, and he about eighty four years of age.

I had a particular concern to have a meeting in the town of Belfast; I consulted Robert upon it; but he did not encourage it, not one of our profession living in that town, he said he had been at many meetings there, but few of them proved to satisfaction. So I left the matter for some days: but the concern followed me still. And it opened in my mind, that if I would have the bread of life to my soul, I must go to the place appointed for me to receive it, viz. to Belfast.

I thereupon consulted several other Friends, all of whom approved of it. Upon application the town hall was obtained for it, and fitted up with seats of deal boards. Sundry Friends at-

tended from the meetings of Ballinderry, Lisburn, Hillsborough, and Newtown, particularly from Lisburn several Friends accompanied me, and old Robert could not be easy without coming along in the rear of the company; he sat next to me on the justices' bench.

The magistrates were so favourable as to order the constables to stand at the door to keep out the rabble. The inhabitants of the town of the upper rank with their wives and children came to it in a decent solid manner.

I had a great weight and fear on my mind respecting the undertaking; but proceeding on the foundation hinted above; a steady hope and reverent dependance on the Almighty stayed my mind, and I thought my friends felt for me, and felt unity of heart for me. The meeting was eminently favoured with the clear light of the gospel, and the sweet sense and enjoyment of divine life and goodness. After the meeting, Robert in a tender thankful frame of mind expressed his satisfaction, as did divers other Friends. It proved a good day, honourable to the cause of truth, and affording solid joy to us, who attended that meeting, which had been crowned with the divine presence.

After this I had meetings of the like kind at Dungannon, Moira and Legicurry or Rich-hill, all of them open, and comfortable. And indeed in this visit to Ulster province, I was favoured

often with the supporting evidence of my being under right direction. It had been on my mind for some years before, and I thought I had waited till the right time.

I was accompanied in this journey many miles and to many meetings by my esteemed friend Thomas Greer, whose company was truly acceptable: also by my dear friend Susanna Hatton to such meetings as she could get out conveniently to attend.

Sometime after I also visited Munster province, accompanied by my friend John Pim of Lacky.

About this time the Methodists had got some footing in sundry parts of Ireland, and in Mountmellick in particular: John Curtis, a Friend of Bristol, who had been one of them about a year, having been afterwards convinced of our principles, and received a gift of the ministry, came over upon a religious visit to Friends in Ireland, amongst whom his service was very acceptable.

I was with him at a large meeting in the court house in Athy, at another in the assembly room at Athlone, and at several others which were very large. He appeared in inwardness of mind to attend upon his gift, and follow its leading; and concluded his service in Ireland with an epistle to Friends whom he had

visited, which the national meeting ordered to be printed.

Sometime after this a vacancy falling out in the city of Dublin by the death of John Beetham, Friends' schoolmaster there, and the return of George Routh, who had tried the place after him, to England, my brother being encouraged by Friends there to take up the charge of that school, seemed inclined thereto, and as the prospect seemed promising, I freely assented to his removal.

After mentioning his marriage with Elizabeth Barnes, daughter of Thomas Barnes of Waterford, James Gough proceeds :

About two weeks after our marriage we went together to the summer half year's meeting in Dublin. In our way thither we spent the first day among our Friends at Timahoe, it being the last meeting there to many of them. For in a few days after, several of their families came to Dublin, to embark for North Carolina, to settle upon my cousin Arthur Dobbs's lands there, who was their landlord at Timahoe, and who upon my application, had offered to me for life, and after it to my son John and his heirs, one thousand acres of that land : Robert Millhouse of Timahoe was to choose land, next to that, which himself should take, but the captain of the ship in which they went, not being well acquainted with the coast, ran too far to the

southward, landed them at Charles Town in South Carolina, and thereupon they settled in that province, so I was disappointed in my expectation of getting the land taken up by him. Two other opportunities afterwards presented some probability of getting them taken up; but by various accidents, my hopes were again disappointed: may all disappointments of this kind incite to a greater diligence in seeking the one thing needful, that good part which shall never be taken away.

We resided about ten years after our marriage in Mountmellick; during which time an increasing private family, and the necessary attendance of my house and school, prevented my going any great journey, but I attended monthly, province, and national meetings generally, in which I was often favoured with my brethren, with the fresh arisings of life, and the renewing of inward strength.

My wife being of a very weakly and tender constitution, I apprehended the fatigue and burdensome care of a boarding school, a load too heavy for her, and from hence conceived a desire, with submission to the ordering of divine providence, for a place where the weight might rest more upon my shoulders, and less on hers: and, having made previous applica-

tion, I received an invitation to return to Bristol, and resume the school there.

Hereupon after some time I threw up my school in Mountmellick, attended the fifth monthly national meeting at Dublin, after which I embarked there with three Friends more, to attend the yearly meeting in London. We went aboard on fifth day morning, and landed at Parkgate next morning, and had an evening meeting at Liverpool. On seventh day we went to Warrington: on first day morning, to the general meeting at Franley in Cheshire. On second day we reached Birmingham: after meeting there on third day we went to Coventry. On fourth day after meeting at Coventry, we reached Towcester, and London the next day. After the yearly meeting was over, Isaac Jackson returned home; Joshua Wilson staid a little time amongst his relations, and Joseph Inman and I, accompanied by our kind landlord John Elliot of London, on third day came to an evening meeting at Reading, appointed to begin at the sixth hour. Next morning Joseph Inman and I were at the monthly meeting at Newberry, and that evening at a small meeting at Marlborough; on fifth day we came to a meeting at Calne, and after it to John Fry's at Sutton-benjar. Next day after meeting there, to Bath, and on seventh day to Bristol, where we staid till sixth day morning, when leaving

Bristol, we crossed the new passage into Wales. That night came to Cardiff, and the next to Swansea, where we staid over the first day; and on second day were at an evening meeting at Caermarthen. On third day at Llandewybrevy. On fourth day, by way of Llaneedless we reached John Goodwin's. At Llaneedless we went to see a Friend's widow. We found her spinning in her poor habitation, and she seemed rejoiced to us, and as we had no guide, she readily offered herself for a guide to John Goodwin's, which they called five miles: but it took us near three hours riding.

On fifth day after meeting, at this ancient worthy Friend's house, we went to his son-in-law Humphry Owen's, on the seaside, who had married John's eldest daughter: on sixth day after meeting, the said Humphry accompanied us to his brother Lewis Owen's, near Dolgethly in Merionethshire; and next day along a mountainous road to Carnarvon, where we staid, and had a meeting by ourselves, and after dinner came to Holyhead on first day evening. On second day morning about two o'clock our kind friend saw us on board the packet-boat and then took leave of us. On third day in the evening we landed in Dublin, and next evening I got safe home to my wife and children, in Mountmellick.

After my return I attended the quarterly

meeting for Munster at Clonmel, and that for Leinster at Enniscorthy, and then I got my large family ready for our removal, consisting of my wife and her mother, in her eightieth year, eight children, and a nurse to the youngest about eight months old. With the assistance of sundry kind Friends, particularly Thomas Strangman of Mountmellick, we all got well to Waterford, and from thence, after staying about ten days with our Friends there, to Bristol.

Now leaving Ireland, after having sojourned there about twenty-four years, and received much affection and kindness from many Friends there, of which I hope to retain the grateful remembrance as long as my memory shall continue, let me review the state of our society there, during that space of time.

At my first going thither, there were yet living in most parts of the nation, where meetings were settled, some of the good old stock, both ministers and elders, who loved God and mankind, and were esteemed and beloved by them, being kind and open hearted, as well as faithful and circumspect in all the branches of our Christian testimony, closely uniting in tender love one with another, in supporting it, and keeping things in good order in the church. Their pious care herein was like a fence about the flock, which kept them together in nearer unity and greater safety: so that the young

people in most parts were generally trained up in innocence of manners, and in plainness of habit and speech.

Some indeed, chiefly of the young men grown up, had for some time past, refused submission to the good order established; but I lived there long enough to see the unhappy consequences thereof, both to themselves, many of them, and to the body whereof they were members. What though their tables abounded with elegant dishes, and variety of liquors; though they made a figure, and were envied or caressed for a time; yet most of them were either cut short by death, or fell into disgrace. The hand of the Lord seemed to be against these introducers, and spreaders of corrupt liberty: and they never attained thereby that true honour and peace, which attended the worthy men and women above hinted, to whom the first excursion of such was matter of great concern and anxiety from a clear foresight of the hurtful consequences thereof: and much labour and pains they took to put a stop to it, and prevent the spreading thereof, particularly in the city of Cork, and therefore they were clear of it.

But though some of these were too big for the girdle of truth to meet about them, or to be limited by the desires of their best Friends, yet I found the discipline of the church better

maintained, during my first years in Cork, than before them in Bristol, tending to edification, brotherly comfort and love, and mutual encouragement in piety and virtue, with a joint desire and care to preserve an uniform regularity, and to revive and maintain a religious fervency toward God.

Some Friends from the several parts attended their province meetings, which were held regularly once in six weeks, and circulated from one part to another, yet were most frequently held in Cork. Those meetings were often sweetly favoured, through the coming together of sincere, lively spirited Friends: at one of these meetings in particular, in Cork, soon after my coming to it, we had the company of John Duckett, from Leinster, a worthy elder. In the men's meeting he spoke to us with such divine authority and sweetness, that to me his words seemed fitly spoken indeed, and *like apples of gold in pictures of silver*.

Their half year's meetings in Dublin were attended by some Friends from most parts of the nation. Here in their meetings for discipline, as well as for worship, a zeal for the honour of God, and the good of the church presided, and Friends were excited to keep all things in proper order in the church. The first time I attended a half year's meeting was in the winter 1742, and it was indeed a lively

good meeting, which I hope never to forget. After I removed from Cork to Mountmellick I attended the national, and provincial meetings for Leinster pretty constantly, and often in them was affected with reverent gratitude to the Almighty, who by the discoveries of the divine wisdom instituted them for the support and edification of the church, and in them frequently owned the gatherings of his people in his name, by the evident manifestation of his divine presence.

In process of time these worthy men and women, in whose hearts the love of God and his people, had by long growth become deeply rooted, one after another finished their course honourably, leaving an excellent savour behind them; but when they were removed, very few of the youth or others, succeeded them in the right line, to fill up their vacant places with propriety. Of their survivors, on one hand, a considerable number retained the ancient plainness of language and habit, and rigidly censorious of any deviation therefrom, valued themselves thereupon, as if it were the only test and badge of discipleship: while their hearts were gone after their covetousness in eagerly pursuing, and sordidly hoarding temporal wealth. On the other hand a large body of youth and others shooting up in self-indulgence, in confor-

mity to the world, rush headlong into the temptations of the times.

Yet amidst this inundation of negligence and revolt, there remain in most places a number of sincere hearted Friends, a few worthy ministers and elders : but within these twenty years past, there has been a great alteration for the worse.

The proposals which Friends of Bristol made me, appeared sufficiently encouraging to promise a probable prospect of a pretty easy situation, as to temporals, and when in Mountmellick, this city was presented to my view for a residence for me and my family : it was brought to my remembrance, how in my young years, it was made to me what Bethel was to Jacob in his youthful time, when all alone with his staff, he travelled obeying the command of his parents ; that is, the place where the Lord first visited me with his power and light, and was a father to me, when I was as it were alone, and far from my parents and all my relations ; and how he called Jacob after many years, and a great increase of family, to go up again to Bethel and dwell there, and erect an altar to his God : how Jacob thereupon, obliged his household to put away their strange gods, to be clean, and change their garments : and so they went. Under this view, I hoped this removal might be attended with beneficial effects to me and mine,

and that I had in degree divine concurrence therein, being divinely favoured among my dear friends in Ireland in my last taking leave of them.

But promised happiness in this life often proves a phantom that flies from us as we pursue it; we often think we have it in prospect, but it still keeps beyond our reach: they who would attain certain and durable happiness, should extend their views beyond this life.

For notwithstanding the apparent encouraging prospect, after a while I found things, both provisions and labour, so much dearer here than in Ireland, that discouragements and embarrassments crowded upon me to that degree, that I was often brought very low, under the gloomy prospect: and my faith was put to a severe trial: yet it pleased kind providence to make way for me, and raise me relief in his own time, for which I desire to be ever gratefully thankful, and unreservedly dedicated in heart to his service, whose mercies fail not.

Here also I found a change in another respect not agreeable to the natural disposition. He, who had visited my soul, and called me into the ministry, had given me a great place in the particular and near regard, affection and esteem of Friends in Ireland, where I had an open door and was often much enlarged in gospel love. Mostly attending the province me

ings in Leinster, Friends were rejoiced to see me, and apt to think me much missed, if at any time I did not get out to any of them: Whenever I did, I met such a welcome reception amongst Friends (being often opened to their edification, and to our mutual endearment to each other in the sweet streams of divine life) and such ready attendance and kindness as were very pleasing to nature.

But coming from thence to Bristol, where I was now become a stranger to many, and where they were full fed as to vocal ministry, I was here very much shut up, and for a season seemed to have lost the caresses, cordial invitations, and that place I had amongst Friends in Ireland; which, however, though in my present trying circumstances, a seemingly additional discouragement, was not an unprofitable dispensation: for though it was the great favour of the Almighty, whereby I was opened among my friends to their edification, and their hearts opened towards me; yet herein the enemy artfully laid his snares, and too much and too often prevailed over my unwatchful soul to my inward hurt. For what are all the caresses of mankind; of small value in themselves, and often injurious to them whom they please, conveying hidden poison to the unguarded mind: while that which alone will stand in real stead, and be of infinite advantage, is yet and keep the favour of the Almighty:

may I therefore want, and even reject whatever would please and nourish that spirit, which ought to come under daily mortification!

The inward near unity, sympathy, esteem and affection of friends and brethren is a very grateful and pleasing enjoyment; but it may be proper and good for us to be tried and proved with being stripped of every leaning stock, but the only sure foundation, that we may thereby, be driven to have recourse to it, and keep our only safe habitation there. May this, after a life so tossed up and down, as mine has been, at length become my case on any terms! and if it be, it will be more than worth all I have yet suffered, were it many times more: for all else will be soon over, but this will never end.

END OF THE JOURNAL.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF
THE LIFE
OF
JOHN RICHARDSON:
INTRODUCED
WITH A BRIEF RELATION CONCERNING HIS FATHER,
WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

It has been repeatedly revived in my mind, to leave the following account concerning my dear father, WILLIAM RICHARDSON ; having also seen something of his own in manuscript, concerning his convincement, with remarks on some other things ; but I being young when he died, did not then much heed it, and when I would gladly have seen it for my own satisfaction, I could not, nor as yet can meet with it ; therefore,

Inasmuch as my father was early convinced of the truth, a sufferer for it, and bore a public testimony to it, I found it my duty, as near as I could remember the contents thereof, to leave this short account concerning him, viz.

He was born at North Cave, in the east part of Yorkshire, in the 1624, of honest parents, and of good repute; and was educated in the Episcopal way, being soberly inclined from his childhood and upward, a lover and seeker after purity and virtue; and I have heard him say, gave his mind much to retirement, reading the Holy Scriptures, breathing and seeking after the Lord, especially in the fields, being by calling a shepherd: and it pleased the Lord to open his understanding so clearly, that he saw and longed for a more excellent dispensation to come; and he also saw that the priests were wrong, and generally proud and covetous, so that he was weary with following them, and much weaned from them and all company, except two or three men who did meet with him, and spoke unto one another concerning their inward conditions, and what they had experienced of the Lord's dealings with them. This was before they had heard of the name *Quaker*, as it was in a short time after given to a people which the Lord raised up to give testimony of the notable and ancient, yet newly revived and blessed dispensation of Christ's coming, and manifestation by the Holy Spirit, inwardly in the hearts and minds of the children of men, in order to enlighten, quicken, sanctify, and save them from darkness, death, ignorance and sin, that they might be made capable of

obeying, worshipping, and glorifying the great God and sanctifier of them.

And as my father was thus waiting and looking for a more general breaking forth of this glorious, powerful, and gospel day, which had in a good degree sprung up in his heart, he had not, as yet, seen that worthy and good man, George Fox, although he passed through those parts about that time; but soon after came William Dewsberry, and at the sound of his voice, I have heard my father say, he was exceedingly glad in hearing him declare the way to find the lost piece of silver, the pearl of great price *within*, a Saviour *near*, that had been held forth by men, to be at a distance. But having left the dark watchmen, of whom they used to inquire, they now met with their beloved at home, in their own bosoms; renowned be the name of the Lord, now and for ever.

Thus the hearing and receiving the ever blessed truth, was as the seed, or word of the kingdom, sown in the good ground, or honest hearts of men, which took root downward and sprang upward, and brought forth fruit in some *thirty*, in some *sixty*, and in others a *hundredfold*, to the praise of the great and good Husbandman.

My said father was early raised to bear a public testimony, which was living and acceptable to Friends, but was so much attended with weakness of body for many years, that he wer

little abroad in the work of the ministry. He suffered patiently the spoiling of his goods, and imprisonment of his weakly body, in the great and more general imprisonment; he not only believed in Jesus Christ, but suffered for him; he was a good neighbour, a loving husband, and a tender father over all that was good, but severe to all that which was wrong, and was for judgment, without respect of persons, and spared it not even to his own children; and especially he was much concerned for me, for, as he said, I was the wildest of them; and as he lived well, and believed in Jesus Christ, I doubt not but he has finished his course in the love and favour of God, is entered into a mansion of glory, and is at rest with all the faithful, who loved not their lives unto death, but rather hated them in comparison of that endeared and unfeigned love they bore to God the Father, and to Jesus Christ his dear and well-beloved Son, who died for them, and also for the whole world.

He departed this life 1679, aged about fifty-five years, and was buried in Friends' burying place at Hotham, near Cave, where he was born.

Now having given the foregoing short account concerning my father, - it remains with me to leave to posterity some remarks on my conviction, with an account of sundry transactions, travels, and deliverances I met with, in and from my youth to this day.

I was young when my father died, not above thirteen years of age, yet the Lord was at work by his light, grace, and Holy Spirit in my heart, but I knew not then what it was which inwardly disquieted my mind, when any thing which was evil did prevail over the good in me, which it oftentimes did, for want of taking heed to that of God in my heart; I desired ease and peace some other way, without taking up the cross of Christ to my own corrupt will, and strove for some time (as no doubt many do) to make merry over the just witness, until for a season the converting and true witness of God seemed to be slain, or disappeared, and then I took liberty, but not in gross evils which many ran into, being preserved religiously inclined, seeking after professors, and inquiring of them, for my information and satisfaction, to find, if I could, any thing that was safe to rest in, or any true and solid comfort to my poor disconsolate and bewildered soul, but I was afraid I should be deceived, or take up a false rest in any thing that was wrong or unsafe; which was the great love and mercy of God to

me. But after many searchings and inquirings among those who were but in the letter without, and in the outward court, where the veil is over the understanding, and the eye of the mind is not truly opened to see into things that are invisible, and hid from all carnal-minded men; even so were my state and afflictions hid from them; and all the deceitful workings of Satan, and the strong temptations which I met with, these blind guides could not see, nor their veiled understandings know how to direct me to the true Shepherd of Israel, the Lawgiver coming out of Sion, that turns away ungodliness from Jacob, and transgression from Israel; not having truly experienced deliverance wrought in them out of this cloudy, bewildered, and tempted state which I was in.

After much searching without, among those who proved to me *physicians of no value*, and *miserable comforters*, I betook myself to a lonesome and retired life, breathing after, and seeking the Lord in the fields, and private places, beseeching him, that he would bring me to the saving knowledge of his truth; and blessed be the name of the Lord now and for ever, I had not sought him long with all my heart, before I met with his inward appearance to me, in and by his Holy Spirit, light, and grace; but when the true light did begin to shine more clearly, and the living witness did

arise in my inward man, oh! then my undone, bewildered, and miserable condition began to appear, and then great and unutterable were my conflicts, and the distress I was in; I thought no man's condition upon the face of the whole earth was like mine; I thought I was not fit to die, neither did I know how to live; I thought in the evening, *Oh that it were morning!* and in the morning, *that it were evening!* I had many solitary walks in the fields, and other places, in which I many times poured out my complaints and cries before the Lord, with fervent supplications to him that he would look upon my affliction, and the strong temptations I was then under, and that he would rebuke the adversary of my soul, and deliver it, for I even thought it was in the jaws of a devouring lion, and amongst the fiery spirits, and, as it were, under the weight of the mountains.

Although I had seen many things, and had divers openings, yet great were my trials, and many were the temptations I met with in those days, for I lived at a distance from Friends and meetings, which made my exercise the harder, as will more fully hereafter appear, in the course of my travels and pilgrimage in this vale of tears and troubles, and some of them not very common; but the Lord helped me through them all, blessed be his name for ever.

I now came to witness that Scripture to be

fulfilled which saith, that *When the Lord's judgments are in the earth, or earthly hearts of men, the inhabitants learn righteousness*: and notwithstanding there was an aversion in my wild nature to the people in scorn called *Quakers*, as also to the name itself, yet when the afflicting hand of the Lord was upon me for my disobedience, and when, like Ephraim and Judah, I saw in the light *my hurt and my wound*, I bemoaned myself, and mourned over that just principle of light and grace in me, which I had pierced with my sins and disobedience; and although that ministration of condemnation was glorious in its time, yet great were my troubles, which humbled my mind, and made me willing to deny myself of every thing which the light made known in me to be evil, I being in great distress, and wanting peace and assurance of the love of God to my soul; the weight of which so humbled my mind, that I knew not of any calling, people, practice, or principle, that was lawful and right, which I could not embrace, or fall in with. This was surely like the day of Jacob's troubles, and David's fears; I saw that the filth of Sion was to be purged away by the spirit of judgment and burning; this is the way of the deliverance and recovery of poor men out of the fall, and the time of the restoration of the kingdom to God's ue Israel. Read ye that can and understand.

This was the day of my baptism into the love of God, and true faith in his beloved Son, as also into a feeling of, or sympathy with him in his sufferings, which were unutterable, and I found that ministration changed; that which had been unto death, was now unto life; and the ministration which was of condemnation unto the first birth, when that was slain, and in a good degree nailed or fastened to the cross of Christ, the power of God, then the good prevailed over the evil.

Whereas there had been an aversion in me to the people called in scorn *Quakers*, and also to their strict living, and demeanour, plainness of habit, and language, so none of these I learned from them; for when the Lord changed my heart, he also changed my thoughts, words, and ways, and there became an aversion in me to vice, sin, and vanity, as there had been to the ways of virtue; but having tasted of the terrors and judgments of God because of sin, I was warned to flee from such things as occasioned Christ's coming, *not to bring peace on the earth, but a sword*; a sword indeed, yea, his heart-penetrating, searching word, *which is sharper than any two edged sword*, that pierceth to the cutting or dividing asunder between *flesh and spirit, joints and marrow*. And as thus I came to see and abhor the evil in myself, when such who had been my company

in vanity reviled me, or came in my way, I was often moved to warn and reprove them, as having, as before hinted, tasted of the terrors of the Lord for sin, I could not well forbear to warn others to flee such things as I had been judged for. Now I came clearly to be convinced about the hat-honour, bowing the knee, the corrupt language, as well as finery in habit; all which, for conscience-sake, and the peace thereof, I came to deny, and take up the cross to, and had great peace in so doing.

Although the blessed truth thus prevailed in me, yet notwithstanding I was not without great conflicts of spirit, temptations, and trials of divers kinds; nevertheless my mind was resigned to the Lord, and my fervent prayers were to him, and he kept me, and opened my understanding, for I was afraid of being misled in any thing, especially relating to my salvation; I came to be weaned from all my companions and lovers which I had taken delight and pleasure in, and all things in this world were little to me, my mind being much redeemed out of the world, and not only the corrupt and evil part thereof, but even from the lawful part; so that my heart and mind became much inclined and given up to seek the Lord, waiting upon him to feel his presence, and peace, and to know his will, and receive power to do the
re.

As thus my mind came to be brought into a depending and waiting frame upon the Lord, and to be stayed in the light, and experimentally and feelingly to partake of his love and grace, which helped me against my infirmities, blessed be his name, I found it sufficient for me, as I kept to it, in all trials and temptations: then I came to see, that all the outward performances in matters of religion did not avail nor render man acceptable to God, but as the heart came to be truly given up to him, that he might not only purge it from defilement, but keep it clean through the indwelling of his Holy Spirit: and, as near as I remember, I saw clearly through these things before the sixteenth year of my age; although, between the death of my father and this time, I took liberty to go among what people I would, my mother giving us great liberty, although she was a woman well accounted of among all people who knew her, and not undeservedly, for her industry and fair dealing concerning the things of this world.

After this time I attended the meetings of the Lord's people called Quakers, as diligently, as my circumstances would well admit; my mother being left with five children, I had only one sister who was older than myself, and three brothers younger, the youngest about three years old when my father died, he leaving but little of this world to bring us up with

yet my parents always had as much as kept them above contempt, and nobody lost by them : but I found myself under a necessity to work hard for my own support, the help of my mother, and education of my brothers, more especially as my sister died soon after.

We being left in a farm of grazing, and part husbandry and tillage, did well as to the things of this world, yet I cannot well omit mentioning one thing which became a great exercise to me, which was thus : My mother married one who was zealous for the Presbytery, and I being much against it, shewed my dislike to the marriage, and told my mother, I was afraid that she had too much an eye to what he had, for he was counted rich as to this world ; but if she thought to augment our portion in so marrying, the hand of the Lord would be against her, and a blasting or mildew would come upon even that which we had got through industry and hard labour, and what the Lord had intended to have blessed to us, if we kept faithful to the truth, and contented ourselves with our present conditions. Then my mother confessed, that as to the worldly enjoyments, it had not been better with her than now. I must write with great caution ; she was my mother, and a tender mother over me, and was loath to offend me, and had promised, as far as she well durst, not to marry with any one with whom I

was not satisfied. But as to their procedure in courtship and marriage, from this time I was entirely ignorant, until it was accomplished. But when my poor mother was married, her cry was, "My son, how shall I ever be able to look him in the face any more, it will be such a trouble to him; he that hath not at any time obliged me, but if I bid him go he ran; and if I bid him do any thing, he did it with all his might;" or to that effect, as several told me who heard her. But she being married, what we had was mixed with my father-in-law's goods, and my mother died first, and our father married again, made his will, and dying, left me five shillings for all my part, which was of right to descend from my own parents upon me; I gave his executors a receipt in full, and there was an end of all, except some small matter given to my youngest brother, for the rest of my brothers and sisters were dead. As near as I remember, this marriage was in the eighteenth year of my age, so that what I foresaw about the blast and mildew, came to pass.

Now to return to my further account concerning the troubles and trials that attended me in the time while I was in my father-in-law and mother's house, after marriage; we, and what we had, being removed to his house, except part of the stock which was left in the ground. Now I foresaw that I was like to come to a great tri-

and I was brought very low, what with the trouble about the marriage, and the exercise of my mind concerning my own condition, having had many great conflicts of spirit, so that I was almost in despair, had not the Lord, in whom I believed, risen in his power, and rebuked the adversary of my soul, I had been overthrown and swallowed up in the floods of the temptations that were cast out of the mouth of the red fiery-like dragon after me, in this the day of my great and strong trouble and travail; but the God of love and pity saw me, and helped me in my distress, and in a day and time acceptable; he that heard poor Ishmael when he cried from under the shrub, and sent or gave relief to him and his mother, who with him was gone from Abraham's house, saw me in this great strait. Also when I came to my father's house, he being a man much given to family duties, of saying grace, &c. before and after meat, none of which I could comply with, except I felt evidently the spirit of truth to attend therein, and open the heart and mouth into such duties. The first day I came to the house, being called to the table with all or most of the family, I thought, "Is it now come to this? I must either displease my heavenly or earthly father:" but oh! the awfulness, or deep exercise, which was upon my spirit, and strong cries that ascended unto the Lord for my help and preservation that I might not offend him. My

father-in-law sat with his hat partly on, and partly off, with his eyes fixed on me, as likewise mine were on him in much fear; so we continued as long or longer than he used to be in saying grace, as they call it, but said nothing that we heard; so at length he put on his hat again, to the wonder of the family: neither did he then, or ever after, ask me why I did not put off my hat; neither did he perform that ceremony all the time I staid with him, which was above one year: thus the Lord helped me, renowned be his great name now and for ever. My father might seem for age, spirit, and understanding, to have been much more than a match for me, a poor shrub, but the Lord (who caused the pillar of the cloud to be bright and give light to all Israel, and brought darkness upon the Egyptians, and fought against them, and for Israel) I believe touched and smote my poor father, that he could not rise up against that power the Lord helped me with; for it was not mine but the Lord's doing; to him be given the attributes of praise, salvation and strength, now and for ever. I saw clearly, that there could not be any true and acceptable worship performed to God, but what was in the spirit and in the truth; neither could any pray aright, but as the Spirit helped them, which teacheth how to pray, and what to pray for, and rightly prepares the mind, and guides it in the

performance of every service which the Lord calls for from his children.

I found my father-in-law was much displeased with my going to meetings, yet I could not see what way to appease his displeasure, except in being very diligent (which I was) in his business, rather beyond my ability, working very hard; it is almost incredible what my poor little weak body went through in those days, but all would not gain his love, for the longer I staid with him, the more his love declined from me; although I told him he need not be uneasy about my wages for I would leave that to himself: I could not see what he could have against me, except my going to meetings; however that was all he alleged. Now when his former stratagems would not do, he offered me a horse to ride on, if I would go with him to his place of worship. I met with many a snib and sour countenance from him, in my return on foot from meetings, although as seasonably as my body was capable of performing; for my father commonly sent me on the first day mornings into the fields a mile or two, and as far upon a common to look at beasts, horses and sheep, (all this on foot) I thought with a design to weary and make me incapable of going to meetings; all which I bore patiently, neither, at I remember, ever said, *this is hard usage*: er all this, to the great grief of my poor mo-

ther, I had to go two, three, four, five and sometimes six miles, to Friends' meetings. After I had walked fast, and ran sometimes with my shoes under my arms for want of time, I have seen many Friends weep, and could not forbear, when they saw me coming into the meeting very hot and in a great sweat, they being in part sensible of the hard task I had to undergo,

Now the last stratagem my father used to hinder my going to meeting, was thus: he took me in his arms in a great shew of kindness, saying, If I would be as a son to him, I should find he would be a father to me, expressing something about his having no near kindred, (and much more to the same effect he said to my brother Daniel, who was an innocent, wise, and clean spirited lad) I replied to him, "If in thus making me thy son, thou intends to hinder me from going to meetings, or to oblige me to go with thee to the Presbyterian meetings, or any thing that is against my conscience, I cannot upon this bottom be thy son;" and, for the same reasons, I refused to be his hired servant, although he offered to hire me, and give me wages. Now when he saw that neither frowns, threatenings, hardships, nor great promises of kindness could prevail with me, he told me bluntly and roughly, I should stay no longer in his house; I innocently answered, I could not help it if it must be so, as all I could do,

would not give him content, without hurting my conscience, and the peace of my mind, which I valued above all mutable things of this world. My poor mother heard my pleading with him, and how I offered to do the best for him I was capable of by night or day, (as I always had done) if he would be easy, and let me have his countenance; but this was the sentence, No I should not stay in the house: and indeed that troubled my poor mother so, that I was forced to leave my father, and go to endeavour to mitigate her great trouble by telling her, that if I was but faithful, the Lord, I believed, would take care of me that I should not want: and the more fully to discharge myself, I reminded her, that as she had entered into marriage covenants with her husband, she should endeavour to perform them, and in every thing faithfully to discharge herself as a wife ought to do to a husband, and leave me and all and cleave to him, and to make her life as easy as she could; I also told her, never to send me any thing that my father knew not of, for I was not free to receive it; although what we had was in his hand, and all sunk there, as I mentioned before.

I write this partly, that all who do marry, may take special heed that it be done with great caution, and under due consideration, and the Lord sought to in it, that it may be done in his counsel, and not only nominally, but truly

in his fear, and then no doubt but it will be well with both husband and wife : and being equally yoked, such will not only be meet and true helpers in all things belonging to this life, but more especially in things appertaining to the world that is to come, and the good of the immortal soul, which to the faithful people of the Lord is of great value. Oh ! how happily and peaceably do such live together in the Lord, as they keep to that which thus joined them : there is more in it, both as to the parents and their posterity, than it is to be feared many consider or think of, as is but too apparent in the many forward and unequal marriages which I have made observation of.

One remarkable passage occurs to my thoughts, which happened thus : My father having been at the Presbyterian meeting, and come home, he, as his manner was, put me or my brother upon reading the priest's text, which had been that day in Daniel, concerning his being cast into the den of lions, for his not regarding the king's decree, but on the contrary, prayed to the God of heaven with his windows open toward Jerusalem, after his wonted manner. My father made his observations as my brother read, and very much magnified Daniel, and said, the spirit of God was in him, but that there were none such as him in those our days. I owned that he was indeed an extraordinar

man, but that there were none endowed with a measure of the same spirit in any degree, in that I dissented from him, and gave my father a brief account of the many sufferings of our Friends, some of which were past, and some then under sufferings for the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus, which they bore for him, and especially the great sufferings of our dear Friends, in New-England, viz. hard imprisonments, cruel whippings, cutting off ears, banishment, if they returned into New England any more; and I shewed him likewise, how they put to death Marmaduke Stephenson, William Robinson, William Leddra, and Mary Dyer, for no other cause but labouring to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the living power of God, to his light, grace, and Holy Spirit in their hearts, and labouring to bring the people from persecution, pride, and every evil work and way, to live a self-denying, humble life, a life agreeable to the Christianity they professed; this was the purport or substance of the service they were called to, and so deeply suffered for; from whence I inferred, there was somewhat of the spirit of God in man in these days as there was in Daniel, and many more formerly, which helped and bore them up in their great sufferings. Now my father confessed, it was true some suffered for good, and some for evil; and withal said, he had now

lived to the age of about sixty-five years, and although he heard us telling of a principle, or light within, yet he knew not what it was. I replied very meekly, if he would hear me I would tell him what it was ; which I did in the words following ; “ When at any time thou hast been under a temptation to put forth thy hand to steal, or lie for advantage, or by provocation to swear, or any evil word or work, hast not thou found something in thee, that hath shewed thee thou oughtest not to have said or done so ? which if thou hadst taken heed to, and not said or done wrong, hast thou not found great peace and inward comfort in thy mind ? but if thou hast said or done wrong, hast thou not found great disquietness and trouble of mind ? This is the inward principle, light, or grace, that God hath placed in man to help and direct him, which we the people of God called Quakers, do hold agreeable to the holy Scriptures. My father smote his hands together, and confessed it was true.

But that I was not willing to break in upon this story, but keep it entire, there was one thing worthy of notice, which I now come to, wishing it may be duly considered by all who read or hear it. When I mentioned Marmaduke Stephenson, that good man, and great sufferer in the cause of Christ, as before, my mother said, it was true ; for she lived a servant with Edward Wilberfoss, an honest Quaker :

Skipton, where Marmaduke Stephenson was a day-labourer, about the time he had his call to go to New England. See the account of New England judged, not by man as man, but by the Spirit of the living God, written by George Bishop. If I remember right, she said he was such a man as she never knew, for his very countenance was a terror to them, and he had a great check upon all the family; if at any time any of the servants had been wild, or any way out of the truth, if they did but see him, or hear him coming, they were struck with fear, and were all quiet and still: and if but one of the children came into the house where he laboured, and he would not have it to come, these were his words, "Go thy way, or go home lest I whip thee;" and they were subject and quiet. This ample and excellent account I thought had some reach upon my father, however, it much affected my mind. Oh! that we, the professors of the same holy truth, may so live in it, as to reign over every wrong thing in ourselves, and also in others, but especially in our children.

Some little time before the marriage of my mother, I was brought into the public work of the ministry, concerning which I had many reasonings, being young, scarce eighteen years old, and naturally of a stammering tongue, which I could not overcome, although I had used what

endeavours lay in my power as a man, considering my years and education, all would not do until the the truth helped me ; but after many conflicts, great troubles, and temptations, the worst I ever met with, and the most piercing sorrow I ever yet had been in since I came to the knowledge of the blessed truth was, when through reasonings, disobedience, and unwillingness to comply with, and answer the Lord's requirings, he in displeasure took away from me the comfort of his holy presence for several months together. Oh ! the tribulations and penetrating troubles I met withal in this condition, no tongue is able to express, no nor the heart of any finite creature is able to conceive the depth of the anxiety of the heart-piercing and wounding sorrows I was in ; I thought my state was as bad as Jonah's, for surely if there be a hell on earth, I was in it : what greater hell can be here to a quickened soul, and an enlightened understanding, who hath tasted of the goodness of God, and of the powers, in a degree, of the world to come, than to be deprived thereof, and think it has fallen away from this state ? I could scarcely believe I should ever have repentance granted to me, or be restored again into the love and favour of God, when I found that river of life dried up, as to me, which did before not only make me, but even all the whole city of God, truly glad

but being left under an apprehension of the Lord's displeasure, and in part a partaker of the terrors of his wrath, oh! I thought surely the very mountains and even the hills, were not sufficient (if they could have been put into the scales or balance) to have weighed against my troubles and afflictions, they were so great; but as the Lord had by his judgments brought me in a good degree from the vice and vanity of this world, now by his judgments he made me willing to give up to answer his requirings in part, and in my obedience to him I began to feel some comfort of love and fellowship of the Spirit of the Lord in myself and in his people, who were brought to be partakers of the like fellowship.

Now I return to the matter about my being turned out of my father's house, which I mentioned before, but was willing to keep this solemn account entire, with desires it may be a caution to all, in whom the Lord is at work in the same manner, not to reason or gainsay so much as I did, but to give up freely and cheerfully to the will of God. When I saw I must turn out, I thought it expedient to acquaint some worthy Friends with it, lest any undue reflections should be cast upon the truth, or Friends, or myself, that if so, these Friends might be able to contradict them; so I acquainted Sebastian Ellethorp, and that worthy man and minister of the gospel Benjamin Pad-

ley, two of the chief Friends in Ellington monthly meeting, and they came to my father's house, and when they came, they began to inquire about the reasons why I went away; and, if my father had any thing against me concerning the business he employed me in; and, whether I was not faithful and diligent in all his affairs he sent me about: he confessed, I was; and thought none could exceed me. They said, "Well then, what is the reason of that misunderstanding which is betwixt thee and thy son-in-law? Is it about his going to meetings?" When they understood his reasons, which were not hard to do, they expressed a pity towards me that I could have no more liberty; and they thought, as I was so diligent in his business, if he would give me a little more liberty to go to meetings, it would be more encouragement to me. At which he took offence, and gave the good men rough language, and asked, what they had to do with him and his son; and bid them go home, and mind their own business; which they were much troubled at, especially for my sake, and much pitied me, and wondered how I had lived with him so long: for he said in short, that there was no abiding for me there. But Sebastian Ellethorp told me, which was mightily to my comfort, that my father had nothing against me, save that concerning the law of my God. This is

the sense, if not the words, of these wise and good men, which passed betwixt them and my father, as they expressed them to me; for I was not there when they were together.

Notwithstanding I pleaded with my father to let me stay until I could hear of a place, he would not, though I was scarce fit for service, being almost like an *anatomy* (as the saying is) so that most who knew me, said, *I would pine away in a consumption*; but turn out I must, and did, though I was weak, poor and low in body, mind, pocket, and clothes; for I think I had but twelve pence in my pocket, and very ordinary clothes upon my back. Thus I took my solemn leave of the family, with my heart full, but I kept inward to the Lord, and under truth's government; many tears were shed in the family, especially by my poor mother, when I left them; my father said little, but appeared like one struck with wonder, to see so much love manifested towards me by the family, and so much wishing that I might not go away: but out I came upon the great common aforementioned, where I had had many solitary walks, but none like this, for this reason that I knew not where to go. I then thought of Abraham who was called out of Ur in the land of the Chaldeans, as it is briefly mentioned by Stephen; but this was the difference betwixt us, he was *called*, I was *forced out*. But as I

was walking upon the common, the sense of my weak condition, not knowing whither to go, nor where to lay my head, although I had many friends, yet I could not be free to go to them, unless I had known they had business for me, being not of a forward but rather a backward and shy disposition: I say, the sense and weight of my condition came over me to that degree, that it appeared to me as though my way was hedged up on every side, inwardly and outwardly; I even thought myself like a pelican in the wilderness, or as an owl in the desert, there appearing to me scarce a man in all the earth in my condition, every way considered; and in the sense and deep consideration of my present wilderness state, I felt myself under a great oppression of spirit, and my heart seemed full, like a bottle that wanted vent: I looked round about me to see that none were near to see my tears, nor hear my cries, and in the very anguish and bitterness of my soul I poured forth my complaints, cries and tears, to the Judge of all the earth, who spoke to me and comforted me in this my deplorable state, which was worse than Jacob's when he lay upon the ground, and had a stone for his pillow; he had his near kindred to go to, who he might expect would receive him gladly, but I had none to go to but such as rather reviled me, and gave me hard language

but the Lord said unto me as if a man had spoke, "First seek the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things that thou standest in need of shall be given unto thee." I then desired he would be pleased to shew me the place I should go to; and the Lord opened my way, and shewed me the house I should go to, and abide in for a time. I said, "Good is the word of the Lord:" I believed, and it was a great means to stay my mind, and settle it in the truth, with full purpose of heart to follow the Lord, and obey his requirings, according to the knowledge and ability given me; yet reasonings attended me; two things especially stood much in my way, yea, three things were a let to me, for soon after I came to the Friend's house in South Cliff, viz. William Allen, by name, I bound myself to him to learn his trade of a weaver, and after I was bound, I found this good man loved me, and I loved him to the day of his death; and he often said, he was blessed for my sake and all that appertained unto him; for when I went to him he was very poor, but he increased very considerably after I went to live with him.

I come now to the particulars which stood in my way of answering the Lord's commands so fully as sometimes I should have done; first, a violent humour fell into one of my legs soon after I was bound apprentice, which I with

others thought was much occasioned by hard usage, heat and colds, and many surfeits, even from my infancy; which lameness held me about two years, and I suffered much by the said leg, and it much discouraged and disabled me. The second hindrance was, my low circumstances in the world, which very few knew of, because the common fame was, (and not without some truth) that I had rich parents. I have given an account already how they were circumstanced, and so I leave them at present, and proceed: but few knew the straits I met withal; yet my truly religious master, if he understood any thing was upon my mind to go to visit any meeting, or meetings, he would say, "Take my mare and go thy way, and be not uneasy, neither about the mare nor business; and do not hasten thyself." These kindnesses made me often thoughtful how I might return suitable acknowledgments, and be duly grateful for the same: I was diligent in my master's business, not serving him with eye-service, but faithfully; believing it good and acceptable in the sight of God, and I had great peace in it; my master never found fault with me for doing too little, but often for doing too much, and would sometimes say, "I think thou wilt cleave to the beam; come off and let us walk into the field and see how things are there." Now as to the third hindrance the

account of which I was not willing to have interwoven with matters of less moment, although the healing of my very sore leg, I attribute to the great and good Providence of God; for in a short time after I gave up freely and cheerfully to answer the Lord's requirings, the Lord healed me of my lameness; and when I cried unto him, that he would also heal my tongue of its stammering, believing that the Lord was able to take away the impediment of my tongue, as he was to stop the violence of that humour which had attended my body, and had removed to my leg, and made it sore from above the ankle to the knee; and notwithstanding several men had given their advice, and had shewed their skill, it all proved ineffectual, until I came to believe in Jesus Christ, and to press through all to him, and to touch the skirt, or lowest appearance of his blessed truth and power, in which I found true healing virtue to my soul, and also to my body, and to my tongue, even to my admiration; so that I did not only speak plain in the testimony the Lord gave me to bear, but also spoke plain in my common intercourse with men.

I was likewise in these days under the dispensations of openings and visions, and thought myself as it were upon Mount Pisgah, and saw into the holy land, and into things relating to God and his heavenly kingdom, and into his work and

way of bringing man out of the fall and alienation to himself again, and into a heavenly state in Christ, as man yields true obedience unto the leadings and operations of his blessed grace and Holy Spirit in the heart. But under such dispensations it is requisite, yea, of absolute necessity, that man be brought into true self denial, as also into a depending frame of mind, and true resignation of will to the will of God, and a daily sitting as in the dust, as to the motions and workings of the creature as such; for all that is of man's working, or work, does but let or hinder the spiritual work of God in the heart; and we must come truly to know all fleshly motions, and the workings in man's own will and spirit, to be silenced, to hear the voice of God, which is a still small voice, and not to be heard in the noise and hurries of the world; neither when the mind is busied with things agreeable to our own corrupt wills and depraved nature.

But although I had had clear sights into many heavenly things, and also at times some comfortable enjoyments of the living presence of God, yet I wanted to be more established in the unchangeable truth, which I had at times some comfortable feeling of; and in crying to the Lord, I found he inclined unto me, and, as David said, "he heard my cries, and plucked my feet out of the mire and clay, and set them upon a rock," that was higher than I, and in part

"established my goings, and put a new song into my mouth, even high praises unto the Lord," for all his tender mercies to me in these trying times. And now being more crucified to the world, and the spirit of it, I witnessed a more constant indwelling of heavenly power and living presence, light, and grace; I came to be brought into stillness, and it became most agreeable to my condition to keep much in silence, and wait upon the Lord for the renewing of strength, that thereby I might surmount all temptations and trials that might fall in my way, or which I might be tried with, which were not a few.

Now these things, before recited, are worthy of commemoration, and proved great confirmations to me in the truth, in these days of my tribulations and great trials: read and believe, thou that canst, for they are faithful and true sayings. After the Lord had healed me, he sent me forth in the work of the ministry, and the first journey I took southward, was into Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and through Coventry, and so to Warwick, to see William Dewsberry. One thing is remarkable; upon William's inquiry, what way I came; in my account of the particular towns and places I had passed through, I mentioned Coventry, which was the last and the worst; for some of the rude people flung stones at me, with great violence, as I was speaking in the meeting, so that

had the Lord suffered them to have hit me, they must have spoiled me; but my faith in the Lord, and the strength of the truth, bore up my mind above fear of the outward man, or what wicked men could do to me. After William had heard my account, he fixed his eyes on me, and said, "Thou must go back again to Coventry." I appeared unwilling, for two reasons: first, because I thought I had cleared myself of that people: secondly, I thought it not safe, to run myself into danger of suffering, unless I was satisfied the Lord required it of me. But William was positive, and said I must go, for there was a service for me to do there. Upon a deliberate consideration of the matter, and a seeking to the Lord to know his will in it, I found my way clear to go, and I had some service and good satisfaction, and left Friends nearer to one another than when I first met with them; for there had been a misunderstanding amongst some Friends in that city: so I came from thence to Tamworth, where there was a difference, especially betwixt two Friends; both of them had been such as had made some considerable figure among Friends: I felt it upon me to go to the man, to warn him of the spirit of prejudice and envy, for if he gave way to it, it would eat out his love to Friends and truth, and he would decline meetings, and come to nought, and turn his back or

the truth; which came to be fulfilled, as I afterwards heard; for he became a loose man, and listed himself to be a soldier. I was zealous for the name of the Lord, and had a great concern upon my mind for the promulgation of the truth, and where I met with loose professors of the truth, it was a great exercise to me.

When I returned home from this, and indeed from all my journeys, I took care what I well could, so far as my weak body was capable, to fall into business, and not loiter away my time, neither abroad nor at home. My weak constitution would not well bear the weaving trade, therefore I left it much against my will; but I wrought upon clock and watch work, and many other things, which supplied my necessities, the Lord allowing me as much time at home as put me in a condition reasonably fit for travel, and then I was inclined to go to visit Friends. Many things I omit, because I am not willing to swell my account too much. I travelled through most parts of England four times, and twice through most part of Wales, between the twentieth and twenty-eighth year of my age.

After the Lord had opened my heart, and I came in part to understand the Holy Scriptures, and to have a feeling of that Holy Spirit in which the holy penmen wrote them, and a sympathy with the spirits and exercises of the righ-

teous therein mentioned, I took great delight in reading them, and having a good memory, could thereby the better deal with priests, and with professors. I had many disputes and reasonings with priests and professors, of several denominations, both in Yorkshire and other parts in my travels, so that through these disputes, and much reading, my mind was rather too much in the letter, and not altogether so much in spirit, and in power, as it should have been; for which I met with a gentle caution from the Lord, which was thus: I heard a voice, from the Lord, as plain as if one had spoke to my outward ear, *The fowls of the air lodge in the branches.* This being repeated to me, I besought the Lord to shew me what was the meaning of that voice which I heard; and the Lord, the mighty God, shewed me, in his condescending love, that the Scriptures, even all of them which were written as the holy men were moved of the Holy Ghost, sprung from the living root; yet those who only rested in the letter, and came not to be acquainted with, and live in, and minister from the same Holy Spirit, are outwardly dead, dry, airy, and foolish. This gentle check was of great service to me; not so as to make me decline reading the Scriptures, but that I should not have overmuch dependency on them; and to caution me against the neglect of waiting for the help of the Holy

Spirit, the root and pure spring of the right and living ministry, which reaches the heart and carries the true evidence with it to the believers, that it is of God ; which that of the letter cannot do of itself. I tenderly desire that all concerned in this great work of the ministry, may not be ministers of the letter only, but of the spirit also, and may speak in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power. And "let him that speaketh," speak as the oracles of God, and he that ministereth, do it as of the ability that God giveth." This is the last and lasting ministry, which is after the order of Melchisedeck, and not after the order of Aaron, but in Jesus Christ, the High Priest, the one Offering, which makes perfect for ever all who come to him through the drawings of the Father ; he is the *one Lord*, and there is but *one true faith* in him, and but *one true* and *saving baptism* into him, or into the likeness of his death ; so as *Christ died for sin*, we may truly *die to sin* ; and as *he was raised by the glory of the Father*, so we may walk in *newness of life* ; the heavenly High Priest, holy, harmless, separate from sinners ; and such a High Priest who was tempted, and knows how to succour such as are tempted ; he is the *Advocate* with the Father, the *Propitiation* for the sins of all, the true *Guide* and *Comforter*, the *Leader* of them into all truth who obey and follow him ; although to the

world a *Reprover* and a *swift Witness* against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.

My writing thus, from this gentle check, concerning the *fowls* and the *branches*, &c. is not with the least intention either to lessen the Holy Scriptures, or discourage any from reading them; for I would have all true Christians encouraged to be more conversant in them; yet with this advice, kind reader, from thy well-wisher and true friend, to breathe to, and truly seek after the Lord for a measure of his holy and blessed Spirit, the only key and best expositor to open and truly expound them to thee, as by the same Holy Spirit thy mind and understanding comes to be fitted and enlightened; and indeed, the whole vessel must be brought into a preparation to hold the heavenly treasure, and not to mix the pure with the corrupt and impure, for without this enlightening, preparing opening, and sanctifying gift of God's holy grace and spirit, man can neither know the heavenly power of God, nor yet the Holy Scriptures aright, as he ought to know them; and for this reason it hath seemed good to God to hide these things from the learned, wise, and prudent of this world, that they should not pry into, nor find out the mysteries contained therein, unless they are sanctified, and called of God thereto; and as no man knows the things of a man, save the spirit of a man that is in him; likewise the

things of God are not perceivable by man, without the help of the Holy Spirit of God in man.

Thus the Lord opened to me the true meaning of the parable of the mustard-seed. in this the time of my infancy as to the ministry, with which he sent me forth into the world, that my faith might stand in the Lord alone, the author and finisher, as well as giver of the true and saving faith, even that faith which works by love, and gives victory over the world; it was by and through the power, virtue and efficacy of true faith, which is the gift of God, that the elders in former ages obtained, and now do obtain a good report; it was in and through this gift, that worthy Abel with his offering was accepted of God, although he was envied of his earthly and evil-minded brother Cain, and also by him slain. The ever memorable Enoch, through the virtue of this holy gift, walked with God, as himself gave witness that Enoch pleased him; he walked so in faith and obedience even to the end, that he died not as men in common do, but was translated, or changed in a peculiar manner. Come, read, thou that canst, and understand, thou that art redeemed out of, and hast overcome the flesh and the power or the first nature, the world and the devil, in a great measure, for thou knowest that it is by the operation of this gift that the dead in old Adam are raised to a new life,

and way of living in the new man ; and through this heavenly Adam, that is known to these to be a quickening spirit, agreeable to holy writ. Through faith the violence of fire was quenched, the mouths of lions have been stopped, the sword turned backward, the armies put to flight, even such as were aliens or strangers, who outwardly fought against the Lord's people ; which sets before us, as in a glass, how and what we are to overcome in this gospel day, in which we are not to fight with men, but with our lusts, and overcome sin and Satan ; which is as great a victory as he obtained that overcame the rampant lions, who had dominion over the wicked, as sin and Satan have power and dominion over the wicked and ungodly to this day. Consider now in time, thou that readest these lines, whether Christ or Antichrist doth predominate in thee ; whether grace or sin most abound in thy mortal body ; whether the Spirit of truth, that leads into all truth, or the spirit of error, that leads into all error and untruth, is the most prevalent, and hath the greatest place in thy heart : for to him whom thou art the most subject, and yields thy members servants to, his servant thou art, and to him thou givest way and subjects thyself, and his servant thou wilt altogether come to be in time, and the wages due to his servants thou shalt have given to : at the end of thy work : therefore consid

due time, while the day of thy visitation is continued unto thee, and the Lord is following and calling by his secret and inward checks and reproofs, by which he disquiets thy mind, that although thou mayest take some pleasure in vanity and wrong ways, when thou canst get over the just witness of God in thy own soul, yet while it strives with thee to convert and gather thee up out of earthly and fading pleasures, to have thy mind set upon heavenly things, and take pleasure in them, thou wilt have no solid comfort in all thy lower enjoyments, but condemnation and anguish of soul will attend thee, until thou either gets over the witness, or leaves the evil. This is the experience of the Lord's people, who have been acquainted with the true and inward warfare, and also with the saints' victory. Read and learn to follow Christ by the footsteps of the flocks of his companions; although it be through great tribulations, yet it is the way to have thy garments washed and made white in the mystical blood of the immaculate Lamb of God: this is he, as John the Baptist said, "that taketh away the sins of the world." Happy is every one that truly putteth on his lamb-like nature, his humility, righteousness, and purity, and is covered with his Holy Spirit, and lives and walks in and under the influence and conduct thereof to the end of time ere, until we enter into immutability.

Now to return from this digression to the historical part, when I had travelled much of the time between my going forth, which was from about the nineteenth year of my age, unto about the twenty-seventh, then finding some little respite from the weight of that service, I inclined to settle a little closer to business, but had little to begin any calling with, being necessitated to leave my trade of weaving through lameness, as before mentioned ; and I had been a sojourner some time at Whitby, Scarborough, and Bridlington ; but upon seeking unto the Lord to know what place I might now settle in, though my great inclination was for Whitby, yet it sounded in my ear, Bridlington, Bridlington is the place to settle in ; and in the cross I repaired thither, and settled for some time, keeping a little shop, and mending clocks and watches, as I had done for several years past at times ; it was of good service my settling there, for the Lord began to work mightily, especially among the young Friends, so that in a few years many had their mouths opened in testimony for the Lord, and a fine spring of heavenly ministry was in that monthly-meeting, the like I have not known in the like bounds, (for it is but a small monthly-meeting) and hath been so ever since I knew it ; for truth did so mightily prosper, and Friends grew so in the ministry, that it became a proverb, that Bridlington was become a school

of prophets. This mighty work of the Lord, in these days, is worthy to be chronicled and remembered among his many worthy and noble acts; we had many heavenly and good meetings, praised and renowned be the worthy name of the Lord, now and for ever.

We had but little discipline when I first settled in that place, but afterwards many Friends' hearts were stirred up in a holy zeal for the Lord, not only to promote meetings for worship, but also for good discipline in the church, and they began to see a necessity of coming up more in the practice of this very needful work; although there were some that said they could see no need of such close order and discipline; yet I found it to be my way in the truth to bear with such, if they were not irregular in their conversations; but if they were disorderly, we dealt with them as the Lord opened our way in the wisdom of truth; and thus bearing with the easiness of some on the one hand, and encouraging the faithful and zealous on the other, until way was made, beyond my expectation, for the spreading of the truth, its testimony, and the discipline thereof in those parts.

I had now travelled and laboured much in the Lord's work at home and abroad for about ten years, but had not in all that time found my way clear to marry, although not without some opportunity, and with such as were a great

deal richer than she was whom I did marry; but I was afraid in this weighty affair to miss my way, knowing the great difference there is between them who only profess, and they who possess the truth; and them that are only in the first nature and unregenerated state, (and strictly speaking, but the sons and daughters of men) and such who are born again, not of flesh and blood, nor indeed of any thing that is corruptible, but of that incorruptible seed and living word of God which leads into a lively hope, and brings forth a new and heavenly birth in man, that takes delight to please and obey the Lord in all things, and so become sons, or children of God, in a more spiritual and nearer relation than that of creation only; it is in and through this great work of renovation, and being born again: and, as such as live up to that holy seed and regenerating principle, and as the same doth predominate and rule in man, in this state man cannot sin, as the apostle said, with this reason annexed, because his seed (to wit the seed of God) remaineth in him: thus walking in the light, and living in the seed, grace and holy spirit, although the terms of it differ, the virtue and nature of it are undividable; such who come to be gathered to walk with, and truly love Christ, the bridegroom: the soul, are brought into a greater nearer truer sympathy, and unity of spirit, than t

world knows of. Read this, you that are born again, and duly consider it in its proper time and place. I believe and therefore truly speak it; the Lord gave me such a wife as really feared him, loved truth and righteousness, and all such as she thought loved and especially such as lived in the truth; her name was Priscilla Canaby, daughter of James Canaby; she was descended of an honest family in the east part of Yorkshire, the only child her parents left; they were bakers by trade, and gave her a commendable education, though they did not leave her any great portion; she was under the care of her uncle, Charles Canaby, of Bridlington, an honest friend, who left something behind him in manuscript concerning his conviction of the truth, and sufferings for the same; he was convinced early, lived to a great age, and was a man of great service in those parts where he lived.

I was in the twenty-eighth year of my age when I married my wife, who was a woman of an excellent temper, very affectionate, sober and prudent, loved retirement much, and waiting upon the Lord, and the enjoyment of his internal and living presence, and especially with the Lord's people, that they might also be made partakers with her of the like special favours; this was as her crown and kingdom while in this world, even from her childhood; and to see

Friends prosper in the truth was matters of great rejoicing to her. When we had been married scarce three years, the Lord raised her up to bear a public testimony amongst Friends in their meetings, which was very comfortable and acceptable to them; and she had also the spirit of grace and supplication, measurably poured upon her, so that many with me did believe she had access to the throne of God, and to that river which maketh truly glad the city of God. She always freely gave me up to answer the service I believed the Lord called for of me. She was taken from me when we had been married about five years, in the twenty eighth year of her age, and died in a sweet frame of mind and was sensible to the last, and her last words were, "He is come, He is come, whom my soul loves; and my soul rejoices in God my Saviour, and my spirit magnifies him;" and so passed away like a lamb, I believe into a mansion of glory, where her innocent soul will for ever sing hallelujah to the Lord God and the Lamb, who is worthy of glory, honour, salvation, and strength now and for ever.

I might enlarge much upon the virtue and worthiness of faithful Priscilla, but in this, as in other matters, it is my desire to avoid prolixity, yet would take notice of the most remarkable occurrences that have happened to me in the course of this my earthly pilgrimage; also,

I have been much pressed by some, and not of the least of my faithful brethren; likewise, I believed it to be my duty, to leave some remains to posterity for their encouragement and comfort in the way and work of the Lord.

I had many deep and heavenly openings, some of which it may not be amiss to mention here, inasmuch as I had now a more clear sight into a translated state than ever I had before; I came, through a divine sense and participation, to have great sympathy and dear unity, not only with the ever memorable Enoch, whose walking was such as the Lord gave testimony or witness to, that he pleased him; the ground of which witness was from hence, he lived near, and loved God, and walked in the ways of virtue, and abhorred vice: but also with the apostle, having this seal, that God knoweth who are his: and with some other of the servants of Christ in former ages, who could say, as some now can say, (from true experience) that the Spirit of the Lord beareth witness with our spirits, that we are his, to wit, the Lord's children, so long as we do well; which last words are of large extent, to do well, think well, speak well, and believe well; for he that hath no faith, or that believes ill, cannot do well; he that eats, drinks, or wears that which he knows he ought not, doth not well; but what is done well, is done in a pure mind and clean consci-

ence, for so is true faith held, and all acceptable work to God performed. I had great openings into the removal of Moses, and taking up of Elijah, that great and worthy prophet, from the earth into heaven, and I have seen things not fit to be uttered ; neither can the world yet believe them ; and I saw far into the mystery of the transfiguration of Christ, and appearance of Moses and Elias with him upon the mount ; and the voice which was heard from the excellent glory, "This is my beloved Son, hear him ;" not Moses nor Elias in comparison of him, for the law pointed to him, and was as a school-master to bring to him. The holy prophets foresaw and prophesied of his coming, and John the Baptist saw Christ, and baptized him, and bore witness of him as the light, and said "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world ;" he also said, "He is the bridegroom that hath the bride," (the church ;) he spoke of his own decrease, and unworthiness in comparison of Christ, though called by Christ himself, as great a prophet as was ever born of a woman, and he was also called Elias, which must first come, and is already come in respect of power, knowledge, boldness, and faithfulness ; he was as Elias, yet the least in the kingdom of Christ was greater than he, because the power and glorious kingdom and gospel dispensation was not fully brought in (and restored to Israel,

or those who should believe in him) until his ascension; but now these great agents in these foregoing dispensations all passed away, with their figurative, prophetic and elementary dispensations, and gave place to the Son and Heir of all things, the Messiah, the great Prophet, Bishop, Shepherd, King and Law-giver.

Now read these things, and learn truly to understand how Moses past away, and Elias past away, and Christ is left, who is able alone to perfect the work of man's redemption, who trod the wine press alone, and amongst all the sons of men, none were with him or helped him; he came who was the antitype of all types gone before: he, Christ, is come to remove the covenant made before, because of the weakness and imperfection thereof; which covenant made not the comers thereto perfect, but the better hope brought in by Christ did. So this covenant is abundantly more excellent which was brought in by Christ, and settled and established upon better promises than that was or could be, by the blood of bulls, goats, and the ashes of an heifer, which reached the outside only; but in the second or new covenant, there is the blood which sprinkleth the heart from an evil conscience, so that such may be fitted and qualified to serve the living God, not in the works of the old covenant, but in the newness of the Holy Spirit: this is he that, as to his divinity

and eternity, was before the hills were settled and the seas and foundations were made, that took delight to dwell with the sons of men, or in the habitable parts of the earth; as he was a Spirit, or Word uncreated, he dwelt measurably in Abel, Seth Enoch, and Noah, before the flood; for by his Spirit God strove with the old world to reclaim them from their wickedness, when it was great; it was by this Spirit Noah was made a preacher of righteousness, and instructed how to build the ark; this is he who was with Shem and Japhet, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, and all the faithful fathers after the flood, the foundation of all the righteous prophets, apostles, and martyrs, such as loved and believed in him, and suffered for his name's sake, and the testimony which they held. This is he that despised the glory of this world, and is lifted up as a standard to the people, and an ensign to the nations; "unto him shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious;" he hath lifted up a greater rod than that of Moses, sometimes called the rod of iron, by which he hath, and I believe, will break to pieces many people as a potter's vessel, when the sin and iniquity of the people are come to their height; it was he that turned the waters of Egypt into blood; it was he that slew the first-born throughout all the land of Egypt; he overthrew the Egyptians, and brought forth

Israel by a strong hand, and an outstretched arm. After he had marked the dwellings of his people, and spared them in the time of this great slaughter, which was executed both upon man and beast, to wit, the first-born in Egypt, then he became Israel's passover. Read these things (that were typically done, and in an outward way) inwardly, and in thine own experience, that thou mayest say, and that truly, Christ is my Passover, after he hath mitigated by sore bondage, and in degree hath given thee faith in his great name, and hath caused thee to love him and made thee willing to follow him, although it be through the sea of troubles, and sometimes as through the wilderness. Here is an eating of the heavenly Passover, or Paschal Lamb, under the influence of the pure love of God, that is spread or displayed over the soul like a canopy, or banner; here is the heavenly manna, the true body to feed on, that yields true nourishment and solid comfort to thy soul, in this thy travel towards the heavenly country; here is the substance of the scape goat known, that beareth away the sins of the people, for he bore our iniquities, and through his stripes we were healed; on his part there wants nothing, but on man's, faith in, and obedience to Christ; he is the substance or antitype of the brazen serpent, which was lifted up in the wilderness to cure the people's

ailments, occasioned by the serpents ; he is the Advocate with the Father, as John said, to encourage little children in that time, which I think may very well be applied to all in that state until time here shall be no more. Happy is every one that heareth, obeyeth, and reverenceth the Son and Heir of all things, in his spiritual appearance in the heart, where he speaks to the conditions of the children of men, "as never man spoke," and to much better purpose than ever men could do ; this is he that spoke to the fathers by the prophets, who in these times doth speak to us in and by his Spirit ; so take heed to his spiritual appearance in the heart, for there must the work of our salvation be perfected ; after sin is purged out, and the guilt thereof taken away ; to such death is easy, where sin, the sting of death, is taken away, having a part in Christ, the first born of many brethren, and resurrection from the dead ; I say, having a part in him who is the resurrection indeed, and the life ; over such the second death (which is a perpetual separation from the heavenly presence of God, and company of holy angels) shall have no power. I now leave, I think, this not unprofitable digression, and return to the more historical part, where one thing, I think, is worthy of inserting here, viz.

In my young years, I was very much afflicted in my travels, upon taking cold, with a sore

throat, that I could scarce speak so as to be heard, and had much trouble at times to swallow any thing which nature did require : and in one journey northward, in truth's service, coming to Hawkshead, and sitting in the meeting under no small exercise with the trouble aforesaid, not without some reasonings and conflicts of spirit, having left all, as I believed, to do what the Lord required of me, and yet I apprehended myself, by means of this affliction, not likely to be of any service ; and after some reasonings, and a fervent seeking to the Lord to know the cause of this great trouble, and withal to bring my mind to a true resignation to the will of God in this, and in all the trials the Lord might see good in his wisdom to exercise me in ; I had not been long brought into this devoted and resigned state to be and do what the Lord would have me do, but oh ! I felt of the virtue of Christ, as a sweet and living spring, by which I was healed ; I was, and am to this day, (when I remember the Lord's kind dealings with me) very thankful to him.

It has been frequently observable, that the Lord leads his servants through many states, that they, having the experience thereof may be the more capable of helping others in the like straits ; it is an excellent thing to love and truly believe in Jesus Christ, and keep self low as in the dust for ever.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF MY
FIRST VISIT TO FRIENDS
IN
AMERICA.

Now the time came on for my going into America, having had a sight of it about ten years before ; I also acquainted my wife therewith about a year before she died, and I found it was likely to be a very near trial to her ; she was a virtuous good woman, but was taken away, and left me three small children, the eldest not above four years old, the youngest not much above one month old, and I having but little of this world, reasoned much about going, thinking my circumstances at present might excuse me : my intentions were good in it, that I might not leave things any way to the dishonour of the truth : my innocent young child was taken away when about a year old ; and

soon after, wherever I went, while I was awake, it sounded in my ears several days and nights, *Now is the time, Now is the time*, my other two children, Providence so ordered it, that they were placed to mine and Friends' satisfaction ; I went through many provings that no man knew of, but I believe, when I am gathered to my place, I shall leave many brethren behind me yet in mutability, that will read my lines in their own experience. I would not have any to misunderstand me, for as to my outward circumstances, I left no debt, neither was I in a way of going backward in the world ; for ever after I received the knowledge of the truth, I could not see what pretence I could have to religion, if any should lose by me ; I have often said, and been hearty in my intentions, that rather than truth should suffer on that score, I would live upon bread and water, and wear very mean clothes, and work very hard if I were able, and upon any mean, but lawful calling. It hath been matter of wonder to me, how any that appear to carry any pretensions to religion, dare run such great ventures, sometimes beyond their own bottoms or abilities ; which to me hath always appeared an unwarrantable risk ; and, as I apprehend, pride, and ostentation is much the occasion of it, which are much against truth, and men are no better for their greatness, the more plain, and the more humble we

are, the more we resemble humble Jesus, and his religion, which he laboured to inculcate. If any are lifted up, or aspire above their place, let them consider well the foregoing paragraph.

Now I must leave my children, and my very near friends, and my native country and all for Christ and the gospel's sake, without any sinister end or view : and then I appealed to the Lord, in the simplicity of my heart, that He knew I was willing to be at his disposal, and what he had favoured me with, I could leave to him ; yet whether what I had was sufficient to defray mine and my two little ones' necessary charges, was somewhat in my way ; and to satisfy me in this doubt, the Lord's voice sounded exceeding clear to that sensation I was then endued with, saying *Go, and be faithful, and I will bless thee every way*. Oh ! my heart seemed to me to melt, and my spirit to dissolve within me, and I said, "good is the word of the Lord, thou hast not failed me in any of my great straits and trials to this day ; I have great cause to trust in thee ; renowned be thy most excellent name now and for ever."

I parted with my friends with much brokenness of heart, and set forwards on my journey towards London, in order to take shipping there, the 11th of the eighth month, 1700 ; and when I, with my companions, Thomas Thompson, Josiah Langdale, and John Estough, with

some other Friends, went on board a ship in the river Thames, we had not long been there, and having considered our freedom about going in the ship, it opened clearly in my mind, in the light, that I must not go in that vessel; and I said to the Friends, I could not go in her, for I saw nothing but death and darkness there. The account of what afterwards happened to the ship I had from two particular Friends, in two several letters from London into America, wherein they expressed a thankfulness for our deliverance, and magnified that hand which wrought it, and preserved us from going in that ship, which was lost near the islands of either Jersey or Guernsey, and, as it was said, about seventy people were drowned.

Peradventure I may mention some things that may appear to be but of little moment, but I have seen a Divine Providence attend terrene affairs, although they may appear of little consequence to some; such as do not duly consider these things, may make a wrong application, and as the course of my travels hath afforded variety of trials and transactions, which are in some things very particular, from whence ariseth variety of accounts, so there hath been a willingness in my mind to favour some who have been desirous of having me to leave a journal of my life, which I have complied with as far as I can see my way clear in the truth.

Then we went on board another ship called the "Arundal," Splenden Rand, master, in which we embarked the 17th of the ninth month, 1700, and after many storms, and much seasickness, not without some conflicts of spirit, more than I am free to express, and a long passage, being near sixteen weeks upon the sea we arrived in the river Patuxent, in Maryland, as near as I remember, the fifth or sixth of the first month, 1701, and my heart was glad, and filled with acknowledgments and praises to the Lord, for bringing us safe over the mighty waters.

Now we left the ship and master, who was but a churlish, ill-natured man. I was very weak and low when I landed, both in body and mind, but the Lord helped me, and made my journey and labours comfortable to many, as well as to my own soul. After the first or second meeting we were at, John Estaugh being now my companion, as we came near a great house in Maryland, I espied a little white horse, the sight of which put me in mind of a dream I had on board the ship before I landed, in which I thought I got a little white horse, which carried me well, and many miles; I said to the Friends with me, Let us call here at this house, which we did, and upon inquiry about a horse, the man said, he had none but a little white young galoway, as he called it, which he was willing

sell, and withal told us, it carried him one day forty miles, and asked eight pounds sterling for it, and I bade him five pounds sterling; the man's wife coming up the passage, heard what I had offered, and she said to her husband, "It is enough;" so I had him, and a good horse he proved, and carried me, by a moderate computation, four thousand miles. I took this, according to the nature of it, to be a singular favour from that great hand which led me forth, and hitherto hath preserved me in the land of the living, to praise his ever worthy name.

Now we set forward towards Virginia and North Carolina, and found great openness in these two provinces, amongst the people, and a tender-hearted remnant of Friends scattered abroad in these wilderness countries; although, as I said before, I was brought very low, yet the Lord, in whom I did, and yet do believe and put my trust, raised me, and filled many times my heart with his word and testimony, so that sometimes it went forth as a flame of fire amongst the loose libertines, who were proud and unfaithful, yet professors of the truth; and we had many large and good meetings. One thing is worthy of notice; as I was speaking in a meeting in Virginia, a sudden stop came upon me, and occasioned me to say, "I cannot go forward, whatsoever the matter may be, I know not;" but giving over immediately,

a Friend, whose name was Edward Thomas, began to preach, who was but young in the ministry, although an elderly man, and apt to be attended with reasonings; but, as he said after the meeting, he had sought to the Lord with prayers, that he would condescend so far to his request, as to give me a sense of him, and in so doing he would take that as a great strength and confirmation to his ministry, in this the day of his many exercises and great fears; or much to the same effect. Thus we see the Lord in his great mercy condescends to the low, weak, and, as it were, infant states of his children, like a tender father, and being our heavenly high priest is touched with the feeling of the infirmities of his people; thanksgiving and honour be given to his most excellent name, now and for ever.

During our stay in Virginia, one remarkable passage occurred, which it may not be amiss to insert here, and the case was thus; I being at a Friend's house, an ancient widow, in order to go to the meeting, observed as I sat in the house several persons of note come into the yard (a store-house being near) to make, as appeared afterwards, a seizure for rates for the government and priest; they not being distinctly charged, but a mixed rate, occasions Friends in those parts to be straightened about the payment of them: I observing the priest to be

there, and appearing very busy, asked, what he was come about: the Friend replied, they were come to make distress for the 40th. per poll, as they phrase it, which is 40 pounds of tobacco, payable for every taxable head, (*i. e.* all above sixteen years old.) There were along with the priest the sheriff and constable for the government, and divers merchants of note as spectators; I understanding the reason of their coming, stepped out to the priest, who seemed a topping brisk man, his temper in this case not unsuitable to his name, which was Sharp; and being come to him, I desired him to be careful how he devoured widows' houses; he briskly replied, he did not; to which I as closely returned, that I found he did. He denied my assertion and said, the government gave him what he demanded and took; to which I gave the following answer: inasmuch as he did not any thing for the widow, for which he reasonably might require a reward, I believed the government would not insist upon it for him, if he would be willing to drop it, which in common equity I thought he should. The priest, displeased with this modest reply, tartly answered, "You are no Christians." I told him, the charge was high, and false, and he might more easily affirm than prove it; wherefore I put the question, and asked him, why we were so charged by him; to which he returned this insignificant

answer, "That we denied part of the divinity of Christ. I told him he was a novice, and receded in his opinion from most of his brethren, seeing it was a general reflection cast on us by most of his fraternity, That we owned the divinity of Christ, but denied his manhood, which was false also ; therefore I demanded of him, to prove what part of the divinity of Christ we denied ; in which if he failed, I should look upon him as a false accuser, and those present would, I hoped be my witnesses : but he shuffled and declined answering, though I urged him as much as possible ; and to cut the matter off, he asked, whence I came. The sheriff bid him give me a verse in Greek ; I told them, I mattered not meddling in that, for as the English tongue was best understood by those present, therefore I thought it would be best to keep to it. I told him I was of Old England ; but still reminded him of proving his assertion, which I looked for from him ; but instead of that, he asked, what part of Old England I came from ; I told him Yorkshire ; and bid him produce his proofs, as before urged, but he still evading the matter, desired to know from what place : I told him I was born at North Cave ; and, said he, "I was born at South Cave, and my father was minister there many years, his name was Sharp, and there is but a mile difference betwixt those places : " I said, it was a long one.

No sooner was this over, but the priest, transported with my being his countryman, began hugging me to such a degree, that I was quite ashamed of him : when I had (not without some difficulty,) got clear of his embraces, I asked him, if he esteemed himself a minister of Christ : he answered, yea, and lawfully called thereto ; I told him, if he was a gospel minister, as the gospel was free, so should his ministry be free ; and turning to the people there present, I told them, I would not have them deceived, for they might understand he only possessed his place by virtue of a law in that case provided, and his call and ordination was only such as had been transferred upon him for a fee, which made him require pay for what he did, and indeed where he did nothing, which was highly unfair ; wherefore they might upon consideration find he was but a minister of the letter, which was dead, and not a minister of the Spirit and Divine Power : from which he offered not to clear himself, though I urged him thereto. Then I asked him, which of those odious characteristics the false ministers were branded with, and deciphered by in the New Testament, he would clear himself of : which I then enumerated to him. The sheriff said, it was so ; and withal said, “ Mr. Sharp, answer the man, for the question is very rational, and you ought to answer him, and for honour-sake clear your-

self of those odiums, if you can." But he would not offer to meddle with it? wherefore I told him, to mind for the future, not to charge any man or people with more than he could be sure to prove; for it was highly scandalous. It being now meeting time, I asked him to go thither: but he refusing, said, he durst not; so we parted.

Having visited Friends here, we returned back for Maryland and Pennsylvania, and a great many we found who loved to hear the testimony and doctrines of truth, but too few there were, who took up the cross daily, and followed Christ in the way of self denial, and knew the thorough work of regeneration, so as to have their garments washed and made white in the mystical blood of the Lamb: these are not polluted with the sins and iniquities of the world, who have experienced this blood to sprinkle the heart from an evil conscience: these are capable of serving the living God; and coming from the laver or pool that truly washes, there is none unfruitful, but every one bearing twain, and they are inwardly clean and fruitful to God, and walk with him, whose bright and shining lives are also fruitful to the world that will receive them. Read this, thou that hast known something of the work of conversion, and consider the great difference there is between the bright lives of the virtuous, and the dull and

cloudy lives of the vicious, and be sure thou look well, which of these thou most resemblest in thine.

Now when we came into Pennsylvania, my companion before mentioned, whom I loved well, told me he must go back to Virginia; it became an exercise to us both, for I could not see my way clear to go back, having been twice through that province. When no other way appeared, but we must part, (for my way appeared clear for the Jerseys, Long Island, Rhode Island, and New England) I held it needful that we should, as we did, call the Friends and elders of Philadelphia and thereabouts together, to let them know how we parted, for we parted in much love and tender-heartedness; yet notwithstanding, lest any undue reflections should be cast upon the Friends there concerning us, because of our parting, I thought these Friends would be capable of setting those things in their proper light, being witnesses thereto; so taking our leave of our dear Friends in these parts, I travelled without any companion, outwardly or constantly; but I sometimes fell into company with Elizabeth Webb, and Sarah Clement, who were virtuous women, and lived near the kingdom, and were of good service in their travels, and grew in truth, which while with them I was sensible of: we travelled under great care and circumspection, both for our own

good, and avoiding offence, as became our places and holy profession, that in all things we might adorn the gospel of the kingdom, a dispensation of which was committed to us to preach unto others. Good service I had for the Lord, and great satisfaction in my own mind in these parts, the Lord helping me by his mighty power through all my trials, as my heart and mind were devoted and resigned to answer his requirings.

I had great openings in several places in New England, and it appeared clear to me, and sometimes I spoke openly of it, that the Lord would gather a great people to the saving knowledge of the truth in his time, notwithstanding what many of our Friends had suffered for the name of the Lord, and testimony which they held in these parts, from the predecessors of the present inhabitants: the view of the state of these things, especially the great sufferings of many of our faithful Friends, put me in mind of that saying, that The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church; and in this case, I believe it will be fulfilled in its season.

One passage happened, which I think not fit to pass over in silence: There came into one meeting, eastward of New England, a man, who was brother to a Presbyterian priest, to oppose Friends, (who, as Friends said, had been often very troublesome in that meeting) in the beginning of the meeting he desired to have liberty to

ask some questions. I being a stranger, and not having so much as heard of the man, nor any making reply to him, I felt liberty in the truth to return the following answer in behalf of the meeting, That I did apprehend it was the desire of Friends, inasmuch as the meeting was appointed for the worship of God, and not for asking of questions, or controversies, that the chief part should first be answered ; and I also thought the meeting would be willing, in the conclusion to give him liberty to ask the questions, if his intent therein was for information or satisfaction, and not for contention. Friends were silent, and the man submitted to what was proposed, and a good meeting we had, the Lord's heavenly power and living presence being with us, and the substance was felt among us, and exalted over all the shadows and types ; and Christ the true bread and living water, light, and life of the world, was exalted that day ; and the mighty God and Father, with his beloved Son, through the help of the Holy Spirit, was glorified, who is worthy for ever. Near the conclusion of the meeting, the man began to speak well of what he had heard, particularly touching that of water-baptism which he said, he had nothing to object against ; but as to the Sacrament, as he called it, because little or nothing had been said about it, therefore he concluded, we either denied or dis-
d it ; or words to the same purport. Then I

stood up, and said, I did not remember that the word Sacrament was in all the Bible; but I said, I suppose he meant the bread and wine; he answered he did; I asked him, whether he was of the same mind the Episcopal church was; if not of the same mind, he might say so; for they say, the bread and wine is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, &c. what said he to it? he was some time silent; then I asked him, how long he thought that sign was to continue? he replied to the end of the world. I answered, he did not read in all the Bible, that the Lord had appointed any figure or sign but what was to end in the substance which is to be witnessed and enjoyed in this world, and not put off only to the end or conclusion thereof, as his argument seemed to declare, by his urging, that the sign of that divine substance must remain till the end of this world. I asked him, what he could answer to that: he turned off with only saying, I was too great a scholar for him, and so he could not meddle with me. He then was silent, and there being many people, I had a fine opportunity to open to the tender-hearted and Friends present; how that was at best but a sign, which the people ate and drank outwardly, in remembrance of Christ's death until he came, but that I could now prove plentifully from the New Testament, that the substance, the grace was to come, and urged me

proofs out of the Scriptures, to the same purpose and when I had done, what I had said so reached a good like old man, a Presbyterian, that he confessed with tears, he had heard much said upon that subject, but had never heard it so opened before ; and said he believed I was in the right. The meeting broke up in a good frame, and Friends much rejoiced that truth came over all, and the contentious man was silenced : and when the meeting was over, the goodly old man took me to the door, and asked me, what a man should do in case of a solemn league and covenant, he being entered into it ; I told him, I needed not to direct him, for he had that in himself which would shew him what he should do ; for if one should make an agreement or covenant with hell and death, in the time of ignorance and darkness, and now the true light discovered it to be so ; the same light which discovered and manifested it to be wrong, as he was faithful to the same, would shew him how and when to break it, and every other wrong thing ; to which light I recommended him, and bid him take heed to it ; which, he said, he hoped he should ; and so I left him with tears on his cheeks, and passed on.

I omitted one thing which happened in that part of New England, near New York and Long-Island, although I was twice backward and forward, yet to be brief in my travels through those

countries, intending to make one account serve, viz. As I was speaking in a meeting, there came a great damp over my spirit, and in that time came into the meeting several men, occasioned by a topping and great man in the world, who had given them an expectation that they should hear how he would oppose the Quakers ; but in a short time truth rose, and Friends generally heard a man say to this disputant, " Why do ye not speak ? " He hushed him with saying, " The man is upon the subject which I intended to oppose them with. " After some time the man was put up again to speak to me, with a " Why do you not speak ? " We heard him say, " The man has opened the thing so as I never heard it before, and I have nothing to say ; and to his own, and the wonder of his neighbours, he sat down on a seat near the door, and wept tenderly ; so it was a good time to him and many more, for the Lord's mighty power was amongst us. And in my return from my journey in the east parts of New England, the same great man desired me to condescend to have a meeting at his house ; and after due consideration and approbation of Friends, who desired it might be so, when they knew it was his request, a meeting was appointed, and I heard there were likely to be at it a great many of the higher sort of Presbyterians of his neighbourhood.

I went to the meeting under no small concern of mind, but when I was come into the great house, I was very much affected with the wise conduct of the man, to see in what excellent order he had placed every thing, so that I could not find wherein any thing could be amended ; and a heavenly meeting it was without any opposition ; and at the breaking up of the meeting, this tender man, whose heart was broken and opened by the power of truth said audibly, His heart and house were open to receive me, and such as me, let all say what they would to the contrary. But what the subject matter was at the first meeting when he came in, I forgot ; it was enough that we remembered we had a good and heavenly meeting, and were truly thankful for the same to Him who was the author thereof.

I and some other Friends being in our passage by water in a vessel bound for Rhode Island, and meeting with high and contrary winds, we put into a creek some miles distant from Rhode Island, and desired the people to procure us some horses to ride on, and we would pay them any thing that was reasonable, but hoped they would not make a prey of us, for we were strangers, and they ought to do to us as they would be done by, if they were in a strange land, as we were ; and there came up to us a goodly old man, and asked us what people we were, if we were not Quakers ? I told him we were

in scorn so called, but we did not much mind names, for there was but little in them. He was a brisk talking man, and said, "There was a man here lately that said he was a Quaker, and borrowed a horse, and when he was gone some miles from this place, he offered to sell the horse ; I know not," said the man, "but you are such." I returned this answer to the reflection ; "that was a great proof that we were an honest and reputable people where we were known, he might assure himself of that ; for when a man is so wicked, as to become a notorious cheat, he will cover himself under the best name he could think of, otherwise he might have said he was a Baptist, or a Presbyterian, or an Episcopalian, and desired you to lend him a horse ; but you mind not these names, neither doth the wicked man think he can pass so well under any of these last, but under the first ; and the reason of it I leave thee to judge." The old man asked no more questions, but used his endeavours to get us horses and a man and horse to go with us, to have the horses back again, and we were well mounted ; but before we set forward, the old man took me to his house, and was very courteous to me, for though we had spoken for some victuals in as short a time as well might be, he invited me to drink, and brought of his apples and beer, which he would have my friends to partake of, for he said

(and we found it true) it was but a poor inn; I think there was no liquor at it but brandy or rum, and water. The old man and I parted very lovingly, and I gave him a piece of money to shew my gratitude for his civility and good service to us. The people looked upon us as some great wonder, for I heard one say, "Are these Quakers? well," said he, "they look like other people." How we had been represented, and by whom, it is not hard to gather, for it is very apparent, the same spirit and the same enmity yet doth continue in some of the inhabitants of that country, which some of our Friends formerly felt the severe effects of: but they are since somewhat moderated by the government there, which is of a more mild and Christian disposition: although I am well assured, that many of the more conscientious and thinking people in those parts of the world begin to see, and many will see and understand in time, that hanging, and taking away lives, for the sake of religion, is opposite to Christ, and the nature of the true religion, which is wrought in man by the operation, quickenings, and indwellings of the Holy Spirit, which, as it is regarded and followed, leavens and brings the soul of man in some degree to put on the purity, heavenly image, and nature of Christ, which is love, praying for enemies, and is not for destroying, but saving lives; but how far the reverse will agree with that reli-

gion taught by Christ, and practised by him and the apostles, I would have all seriously consider of in time.

While we were in Boston, when one of the afore-mentioned worthy women was declaring excellently, with both good utterance and voice, as also good matter, as the manner of the inhabitants of Boston had been for many years to encourage, or at least suffer a rude mob to bawl and make a noise, so they did now, that it was hard to hear so as to understand distinctly what the Friend said, although she spoke plain and intelligibly; it did very much grieve me to see the ignorance, and darkness of those high professors of religion, so that when the Friend had done, observing there appeared men of some note in the world, I requested them to hush the rabble, for I had something to say which I desired them to make known to the governor and chief men of the town; so they soon quelled the noise. Then I told them, That in case we were as erroneous as some might insinuate we were, that was not the way to convince us of our errors, neither to bring us out of them, but rather to establish us in them; and that was not the way for them to gain proselytes, but the way to lose many from them, and increase Dissenters; for what conviction could there be by noise and clamour, and hooting, as if they would split their own lungs: I had come

a great way to see them and what character could I give of them: I never thought to have seen so much folly amongst a wise and religious people as now I saw; "Tell the governor and chief of the town, what the old Englishman saith; for I am ashamed of such doings." It had a good effect, for when I came after, we had quiet meetings; and I understood by a letter from Daniel Zackary, of Boston, to Old England, that the governor said, I was in the right, and ordered that peace should be kept in Friends' meetings there; and I never heard to the contrary but it is well yet as to that. We had great reason to be truly thankful to the Lord for those, and all other his mercies, that he, the fountain of all good, is pleased to favour us with: and as an instance of the Lord's mercy to many poor sufferers, and to show the implacable envy of these people to Friends, the case of Thomas Maulham, of Salem, may suffice, in some measure, to set forth both, who was a great sufferer in the time of hot persecution, when the persecutors had stripped him of almost all he had; their insatiable minds not content with that, they came with axes, and hewed down all the apple trees in his orchard, it being a large one, and left the stumps about the height of a man's knee, and, as Thomas Maulham said, they took the way, as they thought, to ruin him: but the Lord turned it into a blessing,

for the trees grew to admiration, and came to bear fruit abundantly, and a finer orchard I have not seen in all my travels, for the bigness of it; let the Lord be sanctified by all his people, and admired by all them that believe.

I with several other Friends, went from Salem yearly meeting, (which was a large and good meeting) towards Dover, and coming to a river, I staying a little behind, a Friend took my horse, with two more, into the boat, and by the time I came to the river side, the boat was sinking, and the ferryman made a lamentable cry, saying, "The boat is sunk and we shall be all drowned;" although it was so ordered, that there was but one Friend in the boat with the boatman, and I do not remember that ever before now, my horse was in any boat, and I not there; which I looked on as the mercy of a kind Providence to me, and to several other Friends in company. I hearing the noise, as before, and also the floundering of the horses when tumbling into the water, called to the men to be sure to take care to free themselves of all the tackling of the horses, as bridles, stirrups, &c., and catch hold of my horse's tail, and he would bring them both on shore; but if they trusted to the other, as before mentioned, when the horses swam, they would fail them unless very strong: and to have them hold t the bridle was the way to drown both ho

and man : this advice was given while they had the horses in their hands ; the boatman, being a lively youth, took my advice, caught hold of my horse's tail, it being long, (which I ever approved of among rivers) and I calling to my horse, he came quickly with the man ashore, but left the honest old Friend Ezekiel Waring, (to whose house we intended to go that night) in the river floating to the neck, a hundred yards from the shore by computation, yet watchful Providence did so attend, that his life was preserved to a wonder : for it was so ordered, although he missed taking my advice, and caught hold of his stirrup, and the girth broke, as they are apt to do if they be tight when the horse begins to swim, which brought off the saddle and pillion, and the oar of the boat and his hat, which with the pillion-seat being in his arms, just bore up his head above water for some time ; his poor wife seeing the danger to which her husband was exposed, fell into a fainting fit : (there being neither house, man, or boat to be seen on this side of the river but ourselves, the boatman, and the stem and stern of the sunk boat full of water.) A house there was on the other side of the river, which was half a mile over. The ferryman did his best to get a boat or canoe, and although it began to be dark, yet he found a canoe, which is made of a fine piece of timber hollowed in the form of a boat,

and generally will carry but two or three or four men; he coming near, asked if Ezekiel was alive: I told him he was, but very weak, for I had often heard him blubber in the water; I encouraged him, that he might not faint in his mind, for I told him, I yet believed his life would be preserved; he would very faintly say, Unless help came, he could not hold it long. I went on by the waterside, and laid me down often on the land, not much regarding wet or dirt, sometimes tumbling over logs of wood and limbs of trees, for so it is in these uncultivated places. I directed the man with his canoe where the poor Friend was, as near as I could tell by my last observation, and withal desired he would turn the stern of his canoe to him, as he could not lift him up in the canoe; neither to let him lay his hand upon the broad side of it, but upon the stern, lest he should overset it, and they be both drowned: so he did, and brought him gently on shore, to the great joy of his loving wife and us all. The boatman, as he owned, had found my counsel good, and therefore would have me tell him what he might do now: I bid him fetch the boat to shore by the fowler or rope, and then go and carry Ezekiel in the canoe to the inn on the other side of the water, that he might dry, warm, and refresh himself until we came; in the mean time we cleared the boat of water, which when done,

we put our horses into it, and I towed my horse at the boat's stern, to make room for several, especially the good women before mentioned, who were at this time in my company, not without their exercise any more than myself; we got well over, and then the ferryman and Friend on the other side, brought the horses that were left, being three, which were enough for the boat, and proved too many the first time. We found the good old Friend finely and well recruited, and got to his house about midnight, where we were glad, and our hearts were full of praises to the Lord for this great and eminent deliverance and preservation.

In this first visit, while in Rhode Island, I met with something worthy of thy notice if thou art such a reader as I wish thou mayest be, which was thus: Being in Rhode Island, several Friends came to me in some of the intervals of the yearly meeting, (for it held several days, both for worship and discipline) to inquire whether it was usual to let the young, and such as had but appeared little in testimony in our parts of the world, come into meetings of public Friends; I said, Yes, if they were of clean lives, and what they had to say, approved: and it was very likely such would want advice as much as those who were come to more experience in the work of the ministry, if not more: 'tis was some means of enlarging the said meet-

ings of ministers now coming on. When I came into the meeting, several of the elders desired me to go into the gallery, which I refused, the concern upon my mind being so great, I thought it was enough that I could but get into the house, and sit down among the lowest rank.

This meeting was one not to be forgotten, because of the eminent visitation from the Lord that was upon us in it; I have not often seen the like; I question if there were any dry cheeks for some time in it; and the manner of the working of the heavenly power was remarkable, in order to the sanctifying and preparing vessels for the Lord's use; and he broke us down by his judgments from following flattering flesh, and the pleasing vanities of the world, and the subtle baits of Satan, by the tenders of his love, and engaged us to follow his heavenly and inward calls, knocks, and reproofs of his Holy Spirit, and to obey the dictates of the same. When the Lord prepares in a good degree for this work of the ministry, many have been unwilling to give up and obey, until they have tasted of the Lord's displeasure, and in part of his judgments, which have brought them into a submission; after which they went out with their lives sometimes in their hands, and became a wonder to men, bearing their reproach, and sometimes appeared in great congregations, sometimes in noises and tumults, and sometimes were in

watchings and fastings, in weariness, hunger, and in cold, with much more, for the name of the Lord and his testimony, and for the enjoyment of peace, and the internal presence of him that hath separated us to this work by the Holy Ghost; and it is in and by our abiding faithful to the same, that we are preserved in a capacity of perseverance through all to the end, to the mutual help and comfort one of another, and renown of the name of the Lord, who is worthy now and for ever.

We also had a very large meeting on this island in an orchard, where I had good service for the Lord; and I remember I was much concerned about the two ministrations, viz. *John's* baptism with *water*, and *CHRIST's* with the *Holy Ghost*, it being clear from *John's* words, that he saw to the end of his own dispensation when he declared, *he must decrease*, but *CHRIST must increase*; which is generally understood to respect their different dispensations; for the first baptism was to baptize *unto repentance*, the other to *the purging of the floor*, and *burning up of that which was combustible*, viz. the chaff and stubble, which the Lord's baptism burneth up inwardly, and which no elementary thing can do; for if all the eatings, washings, observations and ceremonies under the law, although to *Israel* commanded and enjoined by the Lord, could not make the comers thereunto *perfect*, how

should these or any of them now, when not commanded, as they never were to us, perfect the Gentile world? So what I had upon my mind, as I received I went through with, and shewed the beginning, use and end of the watery dispensation, and the use and continuance of CHRIST's spiritual baptism to the end of the world. The meeting broke up, and Friends went into an upper room in an inn; but I felt such an exercise upon my spirit that I could not eat, but desired Friends to be easy, and I would eat as soon as I could; and while I was walking over the large chamber alone, there came up three men whom I knew not, or what they were, but it sprang livingly in my heart, to set my eyes on them in the Lord's dread, and so I did; they passed away, and I was afterwards told, that they were three Baptist preachers who had been at the meeting, and came once more to see me with a design to have a dispute with me; but they said, I looked so sharply they durst not meddle with me. Thus the Lord in a good degree wrought for me, blessed be his worthy name for ever.

Now I leave the account of my travels in those parts, and enter upon my second, with my honest companion James Bates, who was born in Virginia, and travelled much with me through many provinces, and some islands; we had good service together, and it was much with me,

when on Rhode Island, to visit Nantucket, where there were but very few Friends; Peleg Slocum, an honest public Friend, near Rhode Island, intending to carry us in his sloop to that island that night: and Peleg thought we had been close in with our desired landing place, but we fell short, and night coming on, and having but one small canoe to help us on shore, which would carry but three people at once, we went on shore at twice, and left the sloop at an anchor; and it being grown dark, we thought we were going up into the Island among the inhabitants, but soon found that we were upon a beach of sand and rubbish, where was neither grass nor tree, neither could we find the sloop that night, though we sought it carefully, and hollowed one to another till we were weary, so that were forced to settle upon our little island, from the centre of which one might cast a stone into the sea on every side; here we staid that night, not knowing but the sea, when at the height, would have swept us all away, but it did not; there I walked, and sometimes sat, until morning, but slept none; at last the morning came, and the mist went away, and we got on board again, and reached the island about the ninth or tenth hour.

The master was willing, at our request, to land three of us, (*i. e.*) me, my companion, and Susanna Frehorn, a minister who had a

concern upon her mind for some time, (as she signified to Friends in Rhode Island, where she lived) to visit the few Friends in Nantucket, and Friends thought this a proper season to pay that visit. She was a woman well beloved, and in good unity with Friends.

We landed safe, and as we went up an ascent, we saw a great many people looking towards the sea, for great fear had possessed them, that our sloop was a French sloop loaded with men and arms, who were coming to invade the island ; I held out my arms and told them, I knew not of any worse arms than these on board. They said, they were glad it was no worse, for they had intended to have alarmed the island, it being a time of war ; I told the good-like people, for so they appeared to me, that Peleg Shocum, near Rhode Island, was master of the sloop, and that we came to visit them in the love of God, if they would be willing to let us have some meetings amongst them. They behaved themselves very courteously towards us, and said, they thought we might.

We then enquired for Nathaniel Starbuck, who we understood was in some degree convinced of the truth, and having directions to his house, we went thither, and I told him, We made bold to come to his house, and if he was free to receive us, we should stay a little with him, but if not we should go elsewhere ; for we heard he w

a seeking religious man, and such chiefly we were come to visit : he said we were very welcome. And by this time came in his mother Mary Starbuck, whom the islanders esteemed as a judge among them, for little of moment was done there without her, as I understood.

At the first sight of her it sprang in my heart, "To this woman is the everlasting love of God." I looked upon her as a woman that bore some sway in the island, and so I said, and that truly, "We are come in the love of God to visit you, if you are willing to let us have some meetings among you : " she said, she thought we might ; and withal said, there was a Non-conformist minister who was to have a meeting, and they were going to it, and she thought it would be the best way for us to go with them to the meeting. I shewed my dislike to that for these reasons ; first, we did not want to hear what that minister had to say, because some of us had tried them before we came there, (meaning the Non-conformists of several sorts) and if we should go, and could not be clear without speaking something in the meeting, he might take it ill ; but as we understand there is another meeting appointed at the second hour for the same man, therefore, as the present constitution of things is, we look upon ourselves to stand upon an equal ground in religious capacity, h other Dissenters ; and if we should ap-

point our meeting at the same hour, then the people will be left to their choice to which meeting they will go. The great woman approved of the proposal, and said, indeed that was the best way. The next consideration was, Where shall the meeting be? She paused a while, and then said, "I think at our house." I from thence gathered she had a husband, for I thought the word our carried in it some power besides her own, and I presently found he was with us; I then made my observation on him, and he appeared not a man of mean parts, but she so far exceeded him in soundness of judgment, clearness of understanding, and an elegant way of expressing herself, and that not in an affected strain, but very natural to her, that it tended to lessen the qualifications of her husband.

The meeting being agreed on, and care taken as to the appointment of it, we parted, and I lay down to try if I could get any sleep, for I have shewed before what sort of a night the last was with us; but sleep vanished away from me, and I got up and walked to and fro in the woods until the meeting was mostly gathered. I was under a very great load in my spirit, but the occasion of it was hid from me, but I saw it my place to go to meeting, the order of which was such, in all the parts thereof, I had not

seen the like before ; the large and bright rubbed room was set with suitable seats or chairs, the glass windows taken out of the frames, and many chairs placed without very conveniently, so that I did not see any thing wanting, according to the place, but something to stand on, for I was not free to set my feet upon the fine cane chair, lest I should break it.

I am the more particular in this exact and exemplary order than in some other things, for the seats both within and without doors were so placed, that the faces of the people were towards the seats where the public Friends sat, and when so set they did not look or gaze in our faces, as some I think are too apt to do, which in my thoughts bespeaks an unconcerned mind: the meeting being thus gathered, and sat down in this orderly and ample manner, (although there were but very few bearing our name in it) it was not long before the mighty power of the Lord began to work, and in it my companion especially did appear in testimony in the forepart thereof; and while he was speaking, a priest (not he before touched on, but another) flung out some reflections upon him and the people for his sake, which I did not see the least occasion for; after which he went away: (but more of this in the sequel.)

I sat a considerable time in the meeting before I could see my way clear to say any thing

until the Lord's heavenly power raised me, and set me upon my feet as if one had lifted me up, and what I had first in commission to speak, was in the words of Christ to Nicodemus, viz. "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God;" with these words, "Nay, the natural and unregenerate man cannot so much as see the heavenly and spiritual kingdom of Christ, which stands not only in power but also in righteousness, joy and peace, in the Holy Spirit; and to be born again, was not to be done unperceivably, no more than the natural birth could be brought forth without trouble; and to pretend to be in Christ, and not to be new creatures, is preposterous; and to pretend to be new creatures, and yet not able to render any account how it was performed, was unreasonable; for it could not be, as I urged before, without our knowledge; for to be born again, signified to be quickened and raised into a spiritual and new life, by which the body of the sins of the flesh is mortified, and we come to live a self-denying life: those who are crucified with Christ, they are crucified to their sins, that as he died for sin, we might die to sin: in this state we lived not after the flesh, although we live (as the apostle said) in the flesh; but the life which these live, is through faith in the Son of God: and to have all t'

and much more wrought in us, and we know nothing of it, is unaccountable."

As I was thus opened, and delivering these things, with much more than I can remember, the great woman I felt, for nearly an hour together, fought and strove against the testimony, sometimes looking up in my face with a pale, and then with a more ruddy complexion; but the strength of the truth increased, and the Lord's mighty power began to shake the people within and without doors; but she who was looked upon as a Deborah by these people, was loath to lose her outside religion, or the appearance thereof: when she could no longer contain, she submitted to the power of truth, and the doctrines thereof, and lifted up her voice and wept: Oh then the universal cry and brokenness of heart and tears were wonderful! From this time I do not remember one word that I spoke in testimony, it was enough that I could keep upon the true bottom, and not be carried away with the stream above my measure.

I might add much more concerning this day's work, but I intend not to say any thing to the praise of the creature, but to the renown of the mighty name of the Lord of Hosts, and let all flesh lie as in the dust for ever; for while I continued speaking in this state, as before mentioned, and thus swallowed up in the internal presence of Christ, where there was no want of

power, wisdom, or utterance, I spoke but a sentence and stopped, and so on for some time : I have since thought of John's being in the Spirit on the Lord's day. If it had been a state to have been continued in, I am of the mind I should not have been sensible of weariness, neither of hunger nor pain. This is a mystery to many, yet these are faithful and true sayings, thou mayest read that canst ; but there are none who can know the white stone, and new name, but they who have it ; there are none who stand upon "Mount Sion with harps" of God "in their hands," but only such as "have come through great tribulations, and have washed their garments and made them white in the blood of the Lamb ;" to these are the seals of the book of the mysteries of the glorious kingdom opened, these are called out of nations, kindreds, tongues, and people ; these are redeemed out of the fallen and earthly state of old Adam ; into the living, heavenly and spiritual state in Christ the second Adam ; these cry *holy* ; the other part of the children of men cry *unholy*, because they are not willing to cast down their crowns at the feet or appearance of Christ in their own souls ; although such with the four beasts may cry, "Come and see," yet are they not properly qualified to "worship the Lord God and the Lamb before his throne," as the four and twenty elders did, and as all do, and

will do, who worship God in his holy temple, in spirit and in truth, according to his own appointment; who are not tied up to the canons, creeds, systems, and dictates of men, much of which is beaten out of the wisdom, parts, and natural comprehension of earthly fallen man.

I return from this, which may seem a mysterious digression, to the other part of what did happen concerning the meeting, and come now to the breaking up thereof; and as extreme heats oft end in extreme cold, and as great heights frequently centre (as to man in this capacity) in great depths, and great plenty in great poverty, which I have often seen to be good in order to keep the creature low, in fear, and in a dependance upon the Lord, I soon fell into such a condition that I was like to die away; and when it was so, I with my companion made a motion to break up the meeting, but could not for some time, for they sat weeping universally; then I told the meeting, especially such as were near me, that if I should faint away, I would not have them to be surprised at it; for I was much concerned lest that should hurt these tender people; my life was not dear to me in comparison of the worth of the souls of the children of men; but all this did not break up the meeting: but after some time Mary Starbuck stood up, and held out her hand, and poke tremblingly and said, "All that ever we

have been building, and all that ever we have done, is all pulled down this day ; and this is the everlasting truth ;" or very near these words. Then she arose, and I observed that she, and as many as could well be seen, were wet with tears from their faces to the fore-skirts of their garments, and the floor was as though there had been a shower of rain upon it ; but Mary, that worthy woman, said to me, when a little come to consider the poor state that I was in, "Dear child, what shall I do for you ?" I said a little would do for me ; "if thou canst get me something to drink that is not strong, but rather warm, it may do well : " so she did, and I went unto her son's, where my clothes were, that I might shift me, for I felt sweat in my shoes as I walked.

I mention this partly for the sakes of such of my brethren, who may be at any time in the like case, to take care to keep out of the cold, and beware of drinking that which is cold, neither is brandy good, for it feeds too much upon the weakened vitals ; but in all things endeavour to possess your vessels in sanctification and honour : and as it is not in man's power to make the vessel clean nor prepare it, therefore if the Lord doth (with thy obedience through the work of his grace and Holy Spirit) fit thy vessel for his work and service, take this caution : see that thou neither destroy, defile, nor hurt the same. But it may be, some or

other have done all these, some one way and some another.

I remember Peleg Slocum, (before mentioned) said after this meeting, that the like he was never at ; for he thought the inhabitants of the island were shaken, and most of the people convinced of the truth : however, a great conviction there was that day, Mary Starbuck was one of the number, and in a short time after received a public testimony, as did also her son Nathaniel.

After I was somewhat revived, my companion having a mind to speak to the priest, to know why he did so reflect on him, desired me to go with him, which I did with several more, and coming to his door, where he was seated upon a bench, James Bates asked him why he did so reflect ? he replied, He was in a passion, and had nothing against him ; then James forgave him, and they fell into some debate concerning faith ; my friend urged the apostle James's words, which are these, "As the body is dead without the spirit, so is faith without works." The priest said, Dead faith was nothing, and that it had no being in the world. I thought he appeared to be in the craft ; and after they had tugged at it a while, I said, I found something in my mind to interpose, if they would hear me ; they both shewed a willingness to hear what I had to say, and then I

asked, What belief or faith that was the devils had ; for I did not understand, but that although they believed there was a God, they remained devils still ; therefore the word dead is a proper word and properly adapted to that which any may call faith, and is not operative, but a notion that may be received by education, by hearing or reading, and not that faith which works by love and overcomes the world : and because of its not working, being inactive and useless, is fitly called dead : " what dost thou say to that ? " He said, I was too great a scholar for him. I replied, There was no great scholarship in that. He then invited me to stay all night, and said, I should be as welcome as his own children, and he and I would dispute about that between ourselves. I declined it and shewed these reasons, for so doing ; if he declined the debate publicly, I would not debate it privately, for then these neighbours of his would want the benefit of it ; and so we parted with my saying, as it immediately sprang up in my heart, " Thou hast been a man in thy young years that the Lord has been near, and favoured with many openings, and if thou hadst been faithful to the gift of God, thou mightest have been serviceable ; but thou hast been unfaithful, and a cloud is come over thee and thou art laid aside as useless."

I was altogether a stranger to the state of th-

priest, nor had I heard any thing of him, nor indeed of the state of the inhabitants of the island, but what I heard after, mostly from Mary Starbuck ; for as we walked from the priest's house towards our quarters, she said, every thing she now met with, did confirm her in the truth ; for she knew this was the state of the priest, as I had said, she being acquainted with him in his best state, and then he had fine openings, and a living ministry among them, but of late a cloud was come over him, and, as I said, he was laid by as useless. She also put me in mind of something I had said in the meeting about election, which as near as I can remember was thus : I had endeavoured to make one in the election, and one born again, much the same ; for I had laid waste all claim to election without being born again ; for as Christ was the chosen or elect of God, who never fell, could such who were in the fall be the branches of Christ, the pure heavenly Vine ? Or such who were found in the impure state, and in the degeneracy, by reason of sin and wicked works ? Or would Christ be married to a people, and become as their husband, who were in an unconverted state ? Could this be the true church of Christ ? Could this be the Lamb's bride, who had departed from his spirit, and was in the pollutions of the world through lust, and running after the pleasures and fineries of the world,

depending upon ceremonies, and outside things and elements, which appear not to be essential to our salvation, neither do we find life in them, nor conversion through them? I was of the apostle's mind, that "Neither circumcision, nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new creature:" and what man in the world can say, that water (although he may have been baptized or dipped into the same) hath converted him, or changed his state from a natural to a spiritual, or from a dead to a living state in Christ? Or, who that have gone through the most celebrated ceremonies (as some may account them) had thereby got dominion over sin and Satan?

Having thus treated of things, or to this purpose, among them, I said to Mary, that she warred and strove against the testimony for a time: and as near as I remember she said their principle was, that such who believed once in Christ were always in him, without possibility of falling away; and whom he had once loved, he loved to the end: and it was a distinction they had given to their church, to be called Electarians; and as I said, or near it, she had no mind to be pulled out of her strong hold. But when she saw the glory of Christ, and the true church, as the queen of the south saw Solomon's, and the glory of his house; and as she had her questions and doubts answered, she had no more spirit in her, or doubts or questions, but

openly owned, " This is the truth, this is the glory I have heard so much of;" that spirit of doubting and questioning was swallowed up now, by her hearing and beholding for herself this greater Solomon, his wisdom and glory, and the great house that he had built, (the servants, the attendance, the excellent order, with the ascent unto the house of God, which were all wonderful in Solomon's house, carried in them a lively resemblance of Christ, his power, glory, and wisdom) as also that order and mien which is seen among his faithful servants, his church and people, even such as our spiritual Solomon rules in and over by his spirit and power. Here is Solomon or Man of Peace ; elsewhere called the Prince of Peace ; and as Solomon ruled in Jerusalem, formerly called Salem, or City of Peace, and indeed over all Judah, and over all his tribes, so doth Christ in his kingdom every where upon the face of the whole earth. Learn this, see and know in and for thyself, that thou art truly translated out of the kingdom of death and darkness into the kingdom of Christ, which is a kingdom of power, life, light, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. I was much bowed down in my spirit, and in weakness, fasting, and in much fear ; for the more that truth appears, the more it brings the creature into self abasement.

A passage is here revived to my mind, which as thus ; After a large yearly meeting, where

were many able ministers, worthy WILLIAM PENN, who was one of them, taking me aside, said, "The main part of the service of this day's work went on thy side, and we saw it, and were willing and easy to give way to the truth, though it was through thee, who appears but like a shrub; and it is but reasonable the Lord should make use of whom he pleases: now, methinks, thou mayest be cheerful." From which I gathered, that he thought I was too much inclinable to be cast down; therefore I gave him this true answer, "I endeavour to keep in a medium out of all extremes, as believing it to be most agreeable to my station;" with this remark, "the worst of my times rather embitter the best to me." William shook his head, and said with much respect, "there are many who steer in this course besides thee, and it is the safest path for us to walk in;" with several other expressions which bespoke affection.

This worthy man, and minister of the gospel, notwithstanding his great endowments and excellent qualifications, yet thought it his place to stoop to and give way to the truth, and let the holy testimony go through whom it might please the Lord to empower and employ in his work, although it might be through contemptible instruments. I sincerely desire this may prove profitable to those whom it may concern and into whose hands it may come, that it

Lord's work may be truly minded, and given way unto, when it is opened ; for seeing no man can open it, let not any strive on the man's part to shut the same. I have at times seen something of this nature, which hath not been altogether to my satisfaction ; a word to the wise may serve, I would hope, and may be sufficient for a caution, for what I have written is in the love of God, and under a concern that hath been upon my mind at times, for some years to leave behind me a gentle caution to my tender friends of both sexes, to have an especial care in all things to recommend, not only their gifts, but their demeanour in them ; as also their conversations after them, to every man's conscience in the sight of God, so that you may build up the Lord's house, (like the wise woman) and always have a great care, that nothing you say or do may any way tend to the hindrance of the Lord's work, or discourage the weakness in the flock of Christ, but labour to fasten every stake, and strengthen every cord of Sion, and as much as you are capable, build up the tabernacle in Jerusalem ; for as God is a Spirit, and the soul of man is a spiritual existence, and as the soul and body of man become sanctified and prepared a temple for the Lord by his Holy Spirit to tabernacle in, the Lord is to such a sanctuary flee to, and rest in, from heats and from
ms : here is the true church's rock, and

place of defence, (to wit) the name and power of the mighty God. Oh! that all the inhabitants of the earth were acquainted with this name, and rock of defence, they would not then be so much overcome, as they are, with the power of the enemy of the soul, but would live above his region, which is in the earth, or rather in the earthly hearts of men. All you who have escaped the pollutions of the world, keep in your tents, until the Lord moves and leads forward, and opens the way, sometimes as in a wilderness.

Read and understand from whence these things have their rise and original, for there is the church's safety, and its comeliness too, in abiding in the truth; this is your place of safety, where the enemy hath no power, where the wiles of Satan and inventions of man cannot reach, no enchantment hath power over these, renowned be the great name of the Lord now and for ever.

How comfortable, how easy and pleasant are even all the books and testimonies, and exhortations, that are given forth in the spirit, love and life of Christ! yea, the very company and conversation of such who are preserved in the life, becomes a sweet savour of divine life to the living; there is edification, comfort, and consolation, a strengthening and building up one of another in the most holy and precious faith,

so that I find the truly quickened soul taketh great delight to resort to, and as much as may be, converse with the awakened and truly quickened souls, who take up the cross of Christ daily, and follow him in the way of self-denial, although it be a way that is much spoken against, by such who know not the nature and discipline of the holy cross, and despise such who are the true followers of Christ. To feel this essential virtue, seed, or leaven of the kingdom, or salt of the covenant (Christ) to work so effectually to the restoring of the powers and faculties of the soul, into the first rectitude and purity, that all the malignity may be thoroughly purged out, with all the dross or tin, which defiles the man, and makes him unfit for the kingdom and for the service of God, is a great work. Neither is the vessel preserved clean, (when it is in degree cleansed) but through great care, watchfulness, and diligence in attending upon the Lord with great devotedness and resignation to his mind and will in all things: experience hath taught us, as well as what we read in the Holy Scriptures, that there are many combats to go through, for such as are engaged in this warfare, before the above said states, viz. Deliverance from sin and Satan, and a sabbatical or peaceful rest in Christ can be obtained to the soul.

Come, thou that lovest the light, and bringest

thy deeds to the light, and believest in the light, and hast thy body full of light, by keeping thy eye single to God, and in and to all things that may tend to his glory and thy duty; thou wilt become a child of the light, and receive the whole armour of light; this is that which will arm thee on the right hand and on the left; put off thy own righteousness, which it may be, thy breast hath been too much possessed with, and put on Christ's righteousness as a "breastplate," for it much emboldens in imminent dangers, and also at approaching death; wait upon him that hath power, that thy feet may "be shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;" so that as the gospel-power, and gospel-ministry, all tend to gather into the ways of the gospel and of virtue, thou mayest not fail to be a preacher of righteousness in thy walking, and in thy whole conversation; for this is one of the good ends for which the gospel-power hath reached and visited thy soul, viz. to purge it, and make it clean; and take care to have upon thy head "the helmet of salvation," which will be a strength and as a crown to thee, not only in the many encounters, but more especially in thy last encounter with death: and that thou mayest have faith as a "shield" to put on, that thou mayest overcome the world, and have victory; and above all things, take to thyself, "the sword of the spirit, which is the word of

God," that through this excellent armour of proof, thou mayest be able to "quench all the fiery darts and temptations of the devil."

If thou art a soldier of Christ, this is thy armour; these are thy accoutrements which fit thee for thy vocation, as a follower of the Lamb through many encounters with thy enemies, which armour will give thee the victory, and bring thee through many tribulations, which is the way to the kingdom of heaven.

Now leaving the eastern parts of New England, and these fine tender people on Nantucket island, with fervent supplications and prayers to the Lord of heaven and earth, that he will prosper his blessed work of conversion which he hath begun amongst them, and in all such upon the face of the whole earth; in the next place I came to Lynn, to Samuel Callings, where I had not been long, before I met with an unusual exercise, which I had expected for some time, would fall upon me, viz.

Having heard of George Keith's intention of being at Lynn monthly-meeting the next day, (this Lynn, as near as I remember, lies between Salem in the east part, and Boston) the evening coming on, as I was writing to some Friends in Old England, one came in haste to desire me to come down, for George Keith was come to the door, and a great number of people and a priest with him, and was railing against Friends ex-

ceedingly. I said, "Inasmuch as I understood this Lynn meeting is, although large, mostly a newly convinced people, I advise you to be swift to hear, but slow to speak, for George Keith hath a life in argument; and let us, as a people, seek unto and cry mightily to the Lord, to look down upon us, and help us for his names' sake, for our preservation, that none may be hurt."

The country was much alarmed; for, as Friends said, George Keith had given notice two weeks beforehand, that he intended to be at this monthly meeting, and the people were in great expectation to hear the Quakers run down, for George Keith had boasted much, of what he would prove against Friends. Soon after some pause, retirement, and fervent seeking to the Lord for direction and counsel in this important affair, I went to the rails, and leaned my arms on them near George Keith's horse's head as he sat on his back, and many people were with him; but the few Friends who were come, stood with me in the yard. My fervent prayers were to the Lord, that if he gave me any thing to speak to George, it might go forth in that power and wisdom, which was able to wound that wicked spirit in which he appeared, and boasted over Friends after the following manner, crying, "Is here a man that is a scholar? Is here a man that understands the lan-

guages amongst you? If so, I will dispute with him." I told him, it was probable the English tongue was most generally understood and used amongst that people, and therefore I thought it was the best to keep to it. He went on, and said that he was come in the Queen's name to gather the Quakers from Quakerism, to the Mother Church, the good old Church of England, and that he intended to exhibit in our meeting on the morrow these charges following against us, which he said, he could prove we were guilty of out of our Friends' books, viz. Errors, heresies, damnable doctrines, and blasphemies: "Look," said he, "to answer for yourselves, for if you do not, the auditory will conclude, that what I exhibit against you is true."

I was roused up in my spirit in a holy zeal against his wicked insults and great threatenings, and said to him, that it was the fruit of malice and envy, and that he was to us but as an heathen man and a publican; (but more of this anon.) Then he began to cast what slurs and odiums he could upon Friends, with such bitter invectives as his malice could invent. I stood with an attentive ear, and a watchful mind; for as I stood leaning upon the rails, with no small concern upon my mind, I felt the Lord's power arise, and by it my strength was renewed in the inner man, and faith, wisdom, and courage with so that the fear of man, with all his parts

and learning was taken from me; and in this state George Keith appeared to me but as a little child, or as nothing: renowned be the most excellent name of the Lord, now and for ever. But this great champion (Goliath like, at least in his mind) I supposed feared not any there; he overlooked us all, and in the pride of his heart disdained us; but the Lord of heaven and earth looked down upon us in a very acceptable time, and helped us for his name's sake, and covered our heads in the day of battle: glorified be his great name for ever.

I have sometimes thought to omit some part of this account concerning George Keith, but remember it opened clearly in my mind then, and I said to him, that the hand of the Lord was against him, and that he would pour forth contempt upon him, for his disobedience and wickedness.

But to return to his reflections: he said, the Quakers pretend to be against all ceremonies, but he could prove that they used many ceremonies, as taking one another by the hand, and men saluting one another, and women doing so to one another, and, he said, that women did salute men; yea, they had done it to him; as it was generally understood by those who heard him, which I thought not worthy my notice, (but more of this anon.) He went on and said, the Quakers pretended to be against all persecu

tion, but they were not clear, for the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys had persecuted him, and would have hanged him, but that there was some alteration in the government.

Then came out one of my arrows, which cut and wounded him deep: I said, "George, that is not true." Upon that the priest drew near, and appeared very brisk, and said, I had as good as charged Mr. Keith (as he called him) with a lie. I replied, "Give me time, and I will prove that which George said, was not true, and then thou and he may take your advantage to rescue him from that epithet of a liar, if you can." The priest said, I knew not Mr. Keith: I replied, If he knew him as well as I did, he would be ashamed to be there as an abettor of him. The priest got away, and troubled me no more in all the engagements that George and I had afterwards (although the said priest was with him.) Then I demanded of George, What way our Friends proceeded against him, and what measures they took, as he would insinuate, to bring him to the gallows: but I perceived fear began to surprise the hypocrite, and he thinking by my boldness I was an inhabitant in those parts, and knew his abuse to Friends in these provinces, and their peaceable behaviour towards him, was willing to let the matter drop, and demanded my name, which was told him.

When asked, How he could have a face to urge

such a notorious untruth in the view of that people who were much strangers to, and ignorant of the troubles and differences, chiefly created by him, among Friends in these parts.

This meeting (as before mentioned) being generally newly convinced of the truth, therefore I urged to have him come to the particulars of Friends' proceedings against him, that even for very shame, among those strangers he would set forth as far as he could in truth, the steps Friends had taken in persecuting him, as he pretended; but he would not meddle in the least with it. Then I shewed him, and the people, the falsity of his charge, and the wickedness of his spirit, and the peaceableness of Friends' behaviour towards him, and what great affronts and provocations they had put up with at his hand, as I had it from those who were eye and ear witnesses of it: for, as I shewed George Keith, I had searched into the bottom of these matters, and heard that when he stood before governors and assembly-men in their courts of judicature, when they were met about the affairs of the three provinces, he has torn open his buttons and told them, his back tickled for a whipping, and could they not cut him into collops, and fry and eat them with salt; and that he scorned they should wipe his shoes; all which, with more, I told him I could prove against him. And when he saw he could not provoke Friends

to give him some condign punishment, which I thought, as I said to him, none but Friends would have spared, especially, when his back tickled so much for a whipping; but they, like men of peace and religion, overlooked it all, and he, like a man full of malice, rather than want something to slur and blacken Friends with, wrote a letter, I know not where, but dated it from Bridlington prison, in West Jersey. It must have been dated on the outside of the prison, the doors being locked, so that he could not get into it; yet this went current far off that George Keith was in prison; consequently by Friends' procurement, they being chief at the helm of government in those three provinces.

I asked, what he had to say to all this, for it was all proveable: he did not object one word against what I had said, but vainly hoping for better success relating to his undertaking in Old England, finding me (as he might suppose) so well versed in the American affairs, hoped no doubt, that I had been more ignorant of the affairs in Britain; but, poor man, he sped as ill there also; for he boastingly said, Since it pleased God to open his eyes to see into the worst of the Quakers' errors; although, he said, charity did oblige him to construe every thing at the best whilst in fellowship with them, but since they were so opened, as he said, he had been instrumental to bring from Quakerism to the good old

Mother Church, in Old England, five hundred people. I replied, That is not true; if he rightly considered what he had done in Old England, he had little cause to boast; for, I said, I thought about as many persons as he spoke of hundreds, would make up the number there; and if there was occasion I could name all or most of them: and withal told him that some of those few, whilst amongst us were grown to be neither honourable nor comfortable to us. I urged George if he could, to name or make appear more in number than I had mentioned, that he had so gathered, as he had falsely said. This was a very great stroke upon him, and put him to a stand.

He then began to ask of my country, and from whence I came; with the account of which I humoured him; yet withal put him in mind of his great brag, and importuned him to make something appear towards that great matter he had done in Old England, even for very shame; for I was ashamed for him, that a man of his learning, parts and pretensions, should so expose himself, but he went no farther about it. Then I showed to the people what sort of a man he was, (as they themselves could not but see, who were impartial) and that he was not worthy of our notice, for he cared not what he said, so that he could but illuminate and abuse us.

By this time he appeared somewhat glutted with the sharp sword and keen arrow the Lord gave me, which cut and wounded deep, so that from this time I did not find in our after encounters, he appeared at any time so bold and desperately hardy, but rather expressed himself, although very wickedly, yet in a softer tone. He was now for being gone, threatening us with what he would do on the morrow; but I reminded him he was to us as "an heathen man or a publican," and that which he exhibited against us, being but the fruits of wrath and envy, as such we slighted and trod it under our feet as dirt, and rather desired his absence than his company: so away he went, only telling us he would be with us in the morning. We understood by it, that he intended to be with us at the Friend's house, the meeting-house being about a quarter of a mile from our lodgings.

The evening coming on, the neighbouring Presbyterian women fell hard upon our women Friends about their saluting men, which George Keith had charged upon them, as was generally understood in the plural, and this appeared as a confirmation, as they alleged, because when charged, I made no reply to it, as I had done to all or most other charges, and had overthrown Mr. Keith, as they said, so that he was not able to stand before me. They ought to have said, before the Lord in the first place. But how

the women might clear themselves of that reflection was the present business; I said, I thought it would be the best, at a suitable time in the morning, when George Keith was come, that by handsomely bringing the matter over him, they might learn what women they were who saluted him, and so clear themselves from the reflection cast upon them; for I said, perhaps he will limit it to some of near kindred (as wife, mother, sister, daughter) which may serve as a salvo in this present case; for I did not know of any such general practice in any place where I had been, and I had visited most of the meetings in England, Scotland, and Wales. So in the morning, when George, with two priests, and many people were come, with some Friends, who filled the house, a woman Friend stood up, and brought the matter discreetly over George Keith. But when she put the question in the plural, (women) he shifted the term, and said, he did not say women. I desired the Friend to call her neighbours who heard what George Keith had said the last evening, and were now present, how they understood the word. One, like a wise and just man, said, He would do justice to every man: and he understood that George said women; and many said to the same purpose, but none to the contrary. The Friend asked me, How I understood the word; a

being a north countryman, I might know better the North or Scotch dialect than they. I replied, They had a broad way of expressing the word woman, rather sounding it like the plural, but I understood it women, as the above-mentioned discreet man had said.

The next question she put to him was, What woman? He answered, A good old motherly woman that was gone to heaven many years ago. Then she asked, What countrywoman? He replied, A Scotch woman. The Friend said, It was very well that he had cleared all the world of that fault, (if it might be so termed) but Scotland, and the woman dead many years ago. The women Friends were greatly satisfied, and glad they were so finely discharged of that which some counted a foul reflection, and especially before their zealous neighbours the Presbyterians, who (as the Friends said) probably might have twitted them with it, whether the matter was true or false, if it had not been cleared up; but as I said to George, it was a reflection for reflection's sake; for I was willing to set every thing that was wrong (as far as I was capable) in its proper light, that Friends and others, of all persuasions and qualities who were present, might see things as they really were, and not be deceived; and I had much satisfaction in so doing. And inasmuch as was engaged in the defence of the truth, it ap-

peared the most clear to me to load him with his own lies, mistakes, and wickedness, and to do what we did, as much as in us lay, in the Lord's mighty power; for he appeared to me, like to the angels who kept not their first state.

Matters being thus far gone through, and the meeting-time drawing on, I was in some concern of mind, lest any should be hurt by either hearing or answering George Keith, he having a great propensity to jangling; it therefore opened in my mind to ask him a question, withal reminding him, that he was but to us as an heathen man or a publican, yet he might, if he pleased, answer me the question, which was, Whether he was always sound in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, yea or nay? Upon which he sat a considerable time in silence, of which I was truly glad, my spirit being much bowed under the apprehension I had of the weighty exercise that was likely to attend the approaching meeting. But before we parted, George stood up, and taking his staff in his hand by the middle, said, while he was a Quaker, he thought as Paul thought, that he had the Spirit of God, and when he had the Spirit of God, then he wrote sound things, but when he had it not, then he wrote unsound things. I asked, whether these unsound things he wrote were in fundamentals, yea or nay; if not in funda-

mentals, then my question remained firm and untouched. He would have gone from the matter, but I reminded him of it again, as I supposed he foresaw that he could not answer it, but by bringing a stroke upon himself, for if he had owned his being unsound, I had it under his own hand, in a book written after he left Friends, that he was always sound, &c. And if he had said, he was always sound in the fundamentals, as before, then I intended to have asked, why he left us; for he advocated the same orthodox principles which we believed and taught; but we ended quietly, and prepared to go to the great meeting, for by this time many Friends and people were come, and coming from every quarter, to see and hear how matters would go between the poor Quakers, and this great champion in his heart, George Keith, for I thought he most resembled the great Goliath of Gath, who defied the armies of the living God, of any I had ever yet seen in all my travels, in a religious respect.

Now to the meeting we went; George Keith, with two priests and a great many people gathered together of several professions and qualities into one body, and Friends and some friendly people into another body; and as we came near to the meeting house, I stood still and took a view of the people, and it appeared to me as if two armies were going to engage in battle.

There appeared with George Keith men of considerable estates, parts, and learning, and we appeared like poor shrubs; and, under a sense of our present state, I had like to have been dismayed, and my faith had even like to have failed me; but I cried mightily to the God and Fountain of all our tender mercies, that he would look down upon us, and help us in this time of great exercise, which was not hid from him; but his penetrating eye saw, and his watchful providence attended us, blessed be his name for ever. I continued my fervent prayers and intercessions to the Lord of Hosts, that he would arise for his great name's sake, and work for us that day, that the enemies of truth might not triumph or vaunt over us, and that none of these tender plants, which he had brought to the saving knowledge of the truth might be hurt.

I had no sooner thus heartily sought to the Lord, but I felt renewed strength come upon me, and the fear of man was taken away from me, and I saw evidently that truth would have the victory that day, and my faith and confidence were greatly strengthened in the Lord. These breathings forth of my spirit to the Lord were in secret without words to be heard by men, but the Lord hears and knows the distress and language of the spirit.

Being thus encouraged in myself, it arose in my heart to speak to Friends before we went

into the meeting house, and I advised them to be swift to hear, and slow to speak, and that what was spoken might be in the Lord's power, for that wounds George the most, and slays that wicked and ranting spirit in him, more than all the wisdom of words without it; and let us maintain our testimony of denial against him, and endeavour to get together into one body that we may be a help and strength one to another; and let every one who knows the Lord, cry mightily unto him, that his living power and presence may be amongst us, and I believed the Lord would not suffer any to be hurt. So the meeting gathered, and immediately after, George stood up to tell us, (as before) That he was come in the Queen's name, to gather Quakers from Quakerism, to the good old mother church, the church of England, (as he called it) and that he could prove out of our own books, that we held errors, heresies, damnable doctrines, and blasphemies; with a threat to look to ourselves to answer, or else the auditory would conclude, that what he exhibited against us was true. I expected some of the elder Friends would say something to him, but none did; and I having a deep concern upon my mind, lest truth, or the friends of truth, should suffer through our mismanagement, and such as waited for occasion, might have an occasion administered by us against ourselves; I

say, under this concern of mind, I stood up, and signified to the people what manner of man George Keith was; notwithstanding he had walked many years amongst us, yet towards the latter end of his so walking with us, he grew very troublesome, by reason of a contentious spirit which did possess him; and after much labour and exercising of patience, and extending of love towards him, in order to recover and reclaim him, all that labour of love and much forbearance would not avail, but he still persisted in the work of contention and disturbance; then he was publicly disowned, and testified against by us, as a person with whom we had no unity or fellowship. And being thus cast out, he became to us (agreeable to the sayings of Jesus Christ) as an heathen man or a publican; and being thus disjointed, to expose us, what lay in his power, to all sorts of people, he chose printing against us; wherein he hath much abused us, in leaving out the explanatory parts of sentences, and coining words to make the meaning appear different from what was designed, and indeed, from what was most fair and genuine; therefore some of our Friends found themselves concerned to follow him in print, for the clearing us from what he, through envy, would have willingly fastened upon us, and to return his self-contradictions

misinterpretations, and misapplications of our writings upon himself, and to clear our own innocency, and manifest the perverseness and wickedness of his spirit, neither do we, as a people hold ourselves to be under any obligation to follow him into foreign parts of the world, to answer his arraignments and charges, not being conscious to ourselves that we hold any thing contrary to sound and orthodox doctrine; and also knowing that what he exhibits against us, is the fruit of envy and malice, as such we reject it, and trample it under our feet; and were it not for your sakes, who are strangers to these things, we should take no further notice of George Keith, than to slight and reject him as a man that cares not what he says, nor is he worthy of our notice.

Then pausing a little, George being quiet, a Friend stood up with a short, but living testimony, and then my companion; all this in much weight, and with good demonstration. After them it pleased the Lord to open my mouth, I think in as much strength, clearness, and demonstration as ever, beginning with the following words: "In the way that you call heresy do we worship the God of our fathers, believing all things that are written concerning Jesus Christ both as to his Godhead and manhood;" giving a summary account of his birth, working of miracles, some of his doctrines, sufferings and

death, ascension, and glorification, the coming of the Spirit of Truth, or Comforter, to lead all those who receive, believe, and obey it, into all truth; having great openings concerning the law and prophets, and the beginning, service, and end of the ministration of John the Baptist. The people appeared very much down and attentive, for the Lord's heavenly baptizing power was amongst us that day: it was thought many were there who had not been at any of our meetings of worship before, and the presence of the priests there, opened a door for all the rest.

I being clear, left them unto the grace of God, and unto their free teacher Christ, whose heavenly power in the appearance of his Spirit, the last and lasting dispensation, was exalted that day above all the shadowy and typical things that ever had been in the world: a good meeting it was, and Friends were mutually comforted and edified in the eternal presence of the Lord.

The priest of this place, whose name was Sheppard, before my mouth was opened in testimony, made preparation to write, and when I began to speak, he had his hat upon his knee, and his paper upon its crown, and pen and ink in his hands, and made many motions to write, but wrote nothing; as he began so he ended without writing at all. And as Friends enter

the meeting-house in the Lord's power, even that power which cut Rahab and wounded the dragon, which had been at work, kept down in a good degree the wrong spirit in George, for he appeared much down; but this busy priest called to him several times to make his reply to what I had spoken. After some time, I said to the priest, in the behalf of the meeting, That he might have liberty to make reply. He proposed to have another day appointed for a dispute; to which I said, If he did make a voluntary challenge, (which he should not say we put him upon) we, or some of us, (meaning Friends) if a day and place were agreed upon, should find it our concern to answer him as well as we could. He said, he would have Mr. Keith to be with him: I told him, if he should, and meddle in the dispute, if I was there, I should reject him for reasons before assigned. When the priest had said this and somewhat more, an elder of the Presbyterian congregation clapped him on the shoulder, and bid him sit down; so he was quiet, and then stood up George Keith, and owned he had been refreshed amongst us that day, and had heard a great many sound truths, with some errors, but that it was not the common doctrine which the Quakers preached.

I then stood up and said I had something to say to obviate what George Keith would insinuate; for his drift was to infuse an opinion into

them, that the Quakers did not commonly preach up faith in the manhood of Christ, as I had done that day: I appealed to the auditory, whether any thought there was a necessity frequently to press a matter so universally received among Christians, as faith in the manhood of Christ was; yet we, as a people, had so often and clearly demonstrated our faith in the manhood of Christ, both in our testimonies and writings, as might satisfy any unbiassed person, or such who were not prejudiced against us; and we know not of any people who believe more scripturally in the manhood of Christ than we do; but inasmuch as the grace, light and Holy Spirit, is highly concerned in the work of man's salvation, as well as what Christ did for us without us, and this being yet much a mystery to many called Christians, it pleases God to open, in the course of our ministry, into the meaning and mystery thereof, and to press the latter more than the former. To which George made no reply, but began to exhibit his charges against us (as mentioned before) and said he could prove them out of our Friends' books, naming George Fox, and Edward Burrough, &c. He had in a paper a great many quotations out of Friends' books, and a young man with him had many books in a bag, out of which, he said, he would prove the charges he was about to exhibit against us.

He was now crowded up into the gallery between me and the rail, with a paper in his hand ; and I standing over him, and being taller, could see his quotations, and his paraphrases upon them, on which I told him loudly, that all the meeting might hear, That he offered violence to that sense and understanding which God had given him, and he knew in his conscience, we were not that people, neither were our Friends' writings either damnable or blasphemous, as he through envy endeavoured to make the world believe, and that he would not have peace in so doing, but trouble from the Lord in his conscience. I spoke in the Lord's dreadful power, and George trembled so much as I seldom ever saw any man do : I pitied him in my heart, yet, as Moses said once concerning Israel, I felt the wrath of the Lord go forth against him : George said, "Do not judge me ;" I replied, "The Lord judges, and all who are truly one in spirit with the Lord, cannot but judge thee." So he gave over, and it appearing a suitable time to break up the meeting, Friends parted in great love, tenderness, and brokenness of heart ; for the Lord's mighty power had been in and over the meeting from the beginning to the end thereof, glorified and renowned be his most excellent name, now and for ever, for his mercies are many to those that and fear him, who is the fulness of all good.

This meeting was not only for worship, but also for business, as I said to the people at our parting; it was Friends' monthly-meeting, in which their poor, fatherless, and widows, were taken care of, and such other things as concern them as a people. Two Friends were desired to stay, to hear what George had to say to them who remained, which said two Friends gave an account to us afterwards, that George said to the people after we were gone, that the Quakers had left none to dispute with but an ass and a fool; when I heard it, I said, "Could you not have replied, an ass was once made sufficient to reprove the madness of the prophet."

George called to see me the next day, and said, "You had the advantage of me yesterday, for you persuaded me to be quiet until you had done, and then you would not stay to hear me;" neither indeed were we under any obligation so to do: I told him, I hoped that truth would always have the advantage over those who opposed it; and so we parted, but met again upon Rhode Island; the governor of which place, who was a friendly man, having heard of my intention of coming thither, ordered the deputy-governor, when I came, to have me to him, which he did: and when he saw me at the door, and after inquiry heard my name, he took me by the hand, and led me like a brother, or ra-

ther more like a tender father, into a room, setting me down by him, and then began to say, "I have heard much of you, and I desired to see you long, and am glad you are here." I finding him near me in spirit, was very open in my mind to him, and answered him with much clearness and satisfaction. I remember he asked, whether I thought the sourness in the minds of the Presbyterians against us, was not rather abated? I told him, I did believe it was; and if our Friends did but observe to walk wisely, and live up to what they professed, they would overcome it all. He said, that was the way, and there was not another comparable to it; and as he said, and I believe it was so, he had no other view in sending for me, but to manifest his respect to me, and to do me any service that lay in his power: I told him, I was sensible of his love, and wished I could be capable of retaliating that which in gratitude his kindness to me called for: he said, he desired no more than when I came that way, I would visit him if he was living. I told him I intended so to do, if ever it was my lot to come there again. I then desired he would be at the meeting next day, George Keith proposing to be there, in all likelihood it would be very large; which he promised he would, and accordingly came.

George made little disturbance in the beginning of the meeting, but commanded the gover-

nor, to quiet the Quakers; a priest said, "Mr. Keith, you ought not to command the governor, but intreat him; well then, He intreated the governor to quiet the Quakers, that he might be heard; whereupon the governor, like a man of justice and wisdom, stood up and said, It was not in his power to quiet the Quakers; inasmuch as the house is theirs, and they have appointed the meeting, it is but reasonable they should have their liberty, and if they be willing when they have done, you have your liberty to say what you have to say to those who will stay to hear you; so the governor being next me, leaned his hand upon me, and went away in a sober manner. George was quiet, and we had a good meeting, and so parted.

After most of the Friends were gone, a Friend and I went to the meeting-house door, to hear what George said: he held his bible in his hand, and said, It was promised that the gospel should be preached unto every creature under heaven; but if it was truly translated, it would be in every creature, (not in every creature, as a horse, cow, &c. but in every rational creature, of mankind :) and then their meeting broke up in confusion.

My next remove was to Long Island, where I met with Thomas Story and John Rodman; John desired Thomas and me to be assistant to him in preparing a writing against George Keith,

when he came to Flushing meeting upon the aforesaid island, which writing was to this effect, viz.

“Whereas Colonel West, an inhabitant in these parts, who died and made Miles Forster a trustee, gave by will a considerable sum of money to poor Friends of London, which money was ordered by the Testator to be put into the hands of some faithful Friends of the aforesaid city of London, to distribute as above.” A true copy of which will we obtained, and at the meeting made it fairly appear to George Keith’s face, that he had wronged the poor in receiving fifty pounds of the aforesaid money of Miles Forster, as appeared under Miles’s own hand; which George did not deny when he was charged with it in the meeting, as knowingly to have robbed the poor; it being made fairly appear, that George Keith had no right to meddle with the money, neither as a faithful Friend, nor yet as a poor Friend of London, because he was then in America; and what made him more incapable of claiming any part of it, was his having got into the spirit of strife and enmity against Friends, and therefore, before they could hear his charges, he ought to have first laid down the money, or given such security as Friends approved of; neither of which he was capable of doing: so he was slighted by all or most of the people, as well as by Friends, and this blocked up his way

so much that we had little or no trouble with him in that part of the world : but the Lord wrought for his name's sake, and the preservation of his tender people, praises and honour be given to his great name, now and for ever. Thus ended this engagement betwixt a poor servant of Christ, and a grand apostate who appeared to fight against reason, sense and conscience. Think not, my friends, the account too long, for it hath seemed to me, for some time a debt due to my brethren, and a piece of justice due to the memory of George Keith, for his wickedness, revolting, and sad apostacy. Few there are who can believe how great the power of darkness and wickedness of that mind and spirit was, which possessed and breathed through him : so great it was, that even the considerate and sober people said, They did not think that George Keith had been so wicked a man as they now found he was upon trial. Courteous friend and reader, hold fast that which thou hast received, that none may take thy crown, for it is laid up in store for the righteous only, and such who hold out to the end, in the same pure righteousness which is of Christ, wrought and continued in man, by the operation and indwelling of his Holy Spirit, as man abideth in subjection and obedience to the leadings and dictates thereof.

I told George that I was much ashamed o

his complimenting great people ; for I observed he sometimes said thee and thou, and sometimes you, and sir ; sometimes put his hat off, and sometimes kept it on : I told him, Before I would be so unhandy, if I intended to be ceremonious, I would have gone to school a while, before I would shame myself as he had done. If I have not written the very words, in all my accounts, in the preceding pages, I have the substance : and for a conclusion ; I had to say to George Keith, the hand of the Lord was against him, and would follow him, unless he repented.

This account carries in it an admonition to us, and to Friends in future ages, into whose hands it may come, to beware of letting in the spirit of envy, prejudice, and pride of heart, which I clearly saw was that which, with too much leaning to his natural abilities and learning, was his overthrow, he not keeping to the Lord's Holy Spirit, the life and strength of his faithful people, and the key of true knowledge, the good remembrancer, and leader into all truth, which the Lord sees meet in his wisdom to open and lead us into ; without the help of which anointing and Holy Spirit, we are apt to be cold and forgetful in our duties towards God, and also in our love and duties one to another ; but as the measure of this spirit is faithfully kept to and improved, we grow more and more fruitful in every good work and word, to

the glory of God, and comfort of our souls, and, as the salt of the earth, help to season those who are not seasoned.

When I was in the yearly meeting upon Rhode Island, there was a query concerning what Friends might do, in case there should be a lay or tax laid upon the inhabitants for building some fortifications, and to provide men and arms for the security of the island: such a thing being then in agitation, he, who was one of the chief Friends concerned in church affairs, would have me give an account what we did in the like case in England; for, he said, They in that country looked upon themselves but as the daughter, and Friends here in Old England as their mother, and they were willing to act consistent with us as far as they could, and would know how we did there in that matter, whether we could pay to that tax which was for carrying on a vigorous war against France. I was unwilling to meddle with it, as I said; but the meeting waited a considerable time for my answer, (as one told me,) and was not willing to go forward without it; at last, when I could not well do otherwise, I signified to that large meeting, That I had heard the matter debated both in superior and inferior meetings, and privately, and the most general result was this; Friends did not see a effectual door opened to avoid the thing, the tax being mixed with the other taxes; althou

many Friends are not so easy as they could desire; neither have we any further sway in the government, than only to give our voices for such as are concerned therein; therefore, as things appear to me, there is a great disparity between our circumstances and yours here; for you have a great interest here, and a great share in the government, and perhaps may put such a thing by in voting, considering the body of Friends, and such as are friendly whom you have an interest in; therefore look not for help from the mother, wherein she is not capable of helping herself, and thereby neglect your own business, but mind your own way in the truth, and look not out. Friends appeared well satisfied with these distinctions, and it gave me some ease, in that I had not hurt any.

During my stay in one of the Jerseys a great weight, more than usual, seized upon my spirit, as I sat in a meeting, and under a sense of the same my cries ascended unto the Lord, the fountain of all tender mercies, that he would please to shew me what was the cause of that great power of darkness which did so oppress my spirit; and it pleased the Lord to shew me, that a man there had been guilty of some gross wickedness; and when it appeared clear to me, it was required of me to express it publicly, it became a very great exercise to me, and some reasonings I had before I gave up to make it

public to that large meeting of Friends and other people: I laboured under it till towards the conclusion of the meeting, but finding my peace concerned very nearly in the matter, I stood up in the gallery and said, "Under a sense of some gross wickedness committed by some person not far from me, hath my spirit been borne down; which wickedness will in a short time break forth to the dishonour of truth, and grief of Friends." A great man who sat in the gallery by me, started up and seated himself upon the rail of the gallery, with his eyes fixed on me, and I fastened, in the Lord's dread, my eyes on him, and said, "We have a common maxim in Old England, 'Touch a galled horse's back, and he will kick,' and I am of the opinion, he that kicks is not clear." He got down as fast as he could out of my way, for he not only prevented me from the view of the meeting by sitting there, but his uncleanness stood much in the way of my service.

After the meeting was over, several worthy Friends expressed to me the great concern they were under, lest he should either by money, or subtlety, conceal the sin and wickedness, if such was committed; for I found there was a great fear and jealousy in the minds of Friends, that something was wrong with the man, but I was till then altogether a stranger to their thoughts, and to the state of the man; yet I

advised that Friends should have a watchful eye over him and his family, for I told Friends my spirit was easy in what I had delivered, and I believed the evil would not be concealed. So in my return, his housekeeper had brought forth a child, and charged him with being the father of it, which he denied not : Friends then asked me what they should do in the case ; I said, " Let the judgment of truth go forth against all manifest wickedness, without respect of persons, that the ever blessed truth, and such as live in it, may be kept clear and in good esteem before all men as much as may be."

Something of the like exercise I met with in a meeting in Pennsylvania, repeating several times what oppression my spirit was under, because of some yet hidden wickedness, which in a short time would be brought to light, to the blemish of the truth, and great trouble to Friends. That very evening, after the meeting, a woman little thought on by Friends to be guilty of such a crime, went to a worthy Friend and told him she was the woman that had done that great wickedness I had so much complained of, and had borne such a great load because thereof ; and as the honest Friend said, she wept bitterly, even in the very anguish of her soul. He came twelve miles the next day to Philadelphia, to acquaint me with the matter, and ask my advice, which I gave to this effect ; If

Friends find upon inquiry, at the proper season, that the woman continues heartily sorry, and truly penitent for what she hath done, for godly sorrow worketh repentance, and if from such a hearty and penitent sense (which is to be felt beyond words) she gave forth a paper against her wicked doings, not so much to ingratiate herself into favour, as for the clearing of truth and Friends, and for the ease and peace of her own mind, and took the blame and shame to herself, then Friends may pass it by; if not Friends must set the judgment of truth over manifest wickedness, as before mentioned.

I went to visit a meeting in that part called North Wales, which had not long been planted in that place, where there was a fine tender people, but few understanding English, Rowland Ellis was my interpreter; a good meeting it was, and truth was over all; some, by the interpreter, expressed their great satisfaction in our visit to that meeting, which heretofore had not been counted as Friends, but since have been taken notice of, and grown into good esteem with the body of Friends.

I found it much my work to be concerned in the discipline of the church, which was very low in many places, yet I found there was a willingness in many Friends' minds to be helped in that needful affair, for surely it is a grace, or a help to keep the righteous in,

hurtful and wicked things and doings out, if the same be rightly handled and extended as it ought to be in the love and wisdom of God.

There was one thing I had like to have omitted, which happened when I was in Rhode Island, viz. one Rogers came thither to offer (as he said) his gift in the yearly meeting amongst Friends; but they appearing in a great strait about him, although he had written in behalf of truth's principles, and suffered imprisonment, and the taking away his wife from him, and was not so much as suffered to come to converse with his own son, but under a guard or watch which was set over him, to hear what passed betwixt them, as he told me and some other Friends, which Friends said was true; yet under the consideration of the matter, and clearness of the man's conversation, Friends remained in a strait what to do; and desired that I would take the matter upon me, and reason the case with him, and try if I could persuade him to be easy, and not insist upon any such thing, as to promise to receive his gift; for otherwise, he said, he would go where it would be received. I shewed him, That it was a thing impracticable amongst us, and in itself unreasonable, that we should be by any pre-engagement obliged to receive that which he might call a gift, before we heard it; if he believed he had a gift, e might speak, and as the apostle said, we

might judge ; for it was not impossible but he who was a scholar, and a wise man, and had a strong memory, might have gathered certain passages out of the Bible or other books, with what other interpretations he might have stored up, and speak of, and call it a gift, which we could not receive as a real gift of the ministry, which stands in the spirit, and in the power, and if it be such it will make way for itself, if not, we cannot receive it. So he went away, and troubled Friends no more that I heard of.

I was at William Penn's country house, called Pennsbury in Pennsylvania, where I staid two or three days, on one of which I was at a meeting and a marriage, and much of the other part of the time I spent in seeing, to my satisfaction, William Penn and many of the Indians (not the least of them) in council and consultation concerning their former covenants, now again revived upon William Penn's going away for England ; all which was done in much calmness of temper, and in an amicable way. To pass by several particulars, I may mention the following ; one was, They never first broke covenant with any people ; for, as one of them said, and smote his hand upon his head three times, that they did not make them there in their heads, but smiting his hand three times on his breast, said they made them, (*i. e.* their covenants) there in their hearts. And again, whe

William Penn and they had ended the most weighty parts for which they held their council, William Penn gave them match coats and some other things.

I observed (and also heard the like by others) that they did not, and I suppose never do speak, two at a time, nor interfere in the least one with another that way in all their councils, as has been observed. Their eating and drinking was in much stillness and quietness.

I much desire that all Christians (whether they may be such in reality or profession only) may endeavour to imitate these people in those things which are so commendable, which may be a means to prevent loss of time and expedite business; as much as may be, endeavouring to prevent above one speaking at a time in meetings of conference and of business.

When much of the matters were gone through, I put William Penn in mind to inquire of the interpreter, if he could find some terms or words that might be intelligible to them, in a religious sense, by which he might reach the understandings of the natives, and inculcate into their minds a sense of the principles of truth, such as Christ's manifesting himself to the inward senses of the soul, by his light, grace, or Holy Spirit, with the manner of the operations and working thereof in the hearts of the children of men, and how it did reprove for evil, and minister peace

and comfort to the soul in its obedience and well-doing; or, as near as he could, come to the substance of this in their own language. William Penn, much pressed the matter upon the interpreter to do his best, in any terms that might reach their capacities, and answer the end intended: but the interpreter would not, either by reason, as he alleged, of want of terms, or his unwillingness to meddle in religious matters, which, I know not; but I rather think the latter was the main reason which obstructed him: therefore we found nothing was likely to be done according to our desires in this matter, as the interpreter was but a dark man, and, as William Penn said, a wrong man for our present purpose.

William Penn said, he understood they owned a superior power, and asked the interpreter, what their notion was of God in their own way; the interpreter shewed, by making several circles on the ground with his staff, till he reduced the last into a small circumference, and placed, as he said, by way of representation, the great man (as they termed him) in the middle circle, so that he could see over all the other circles, which included all the earth. And we querying what they owned as to eternity, or a future state; the interpreter said, they believed when such died as were guilty of theft, swearing, lying, whoring, murder, &c. they went into a very cold country, where they had neither good fat veni-

son, nor match coats, (which is what they use instead of clothes to cover them withal, being of one piece in the form of a blanket or bed covering) but those who died clear of the aforesaid sins, go into a fine warm country, where they had good fat venison and good match coats : (things much valued by these natives.) I thought, inasmuch as these poor creatures had not the knowledge of God by the scriptures, as we have who are called Christians, that what knowledge they had of the Supreme Being must be by an inward sensation, or by a contemplating upon the works of God in the creation, or probably from some tradition handed down from the father to the son, by which it appears, they acknowledged a future state of rewards and punishments; the former of which they express by warmth, good clothing, and food, and the latter by nakedness, pining hunger, and piercing cold.

I have often thought and said, when I was amongst them, that generally my spirit was very easy, and I did not feel that power of darkness to oppress me, as I had done in many places among the people called Christians.

After William Penn and they had expressed their satisfaction, both for themselves and their people, in keeping all their former articles inviolate, and agreed that if any particular differences did happen amongst any of their people, they should not be an occasion of foment-

ing or creating any war between William Penn's people and the Indians, but justice should be done in all such cases, that all animosities might be prevented on all sides for ever; they went out of the house into an open place not far from it, to perform their cantico, or worship, which was done thus; first they made a small fire, and the men without the women sat down about it in a ring, and whatsoever object they severally fixed their eyes on, I did not see them move them in all that part of their worship, while they sang a very melodious hymn, which affected and tendered the hearts of many who were spectators: when they had thus done, they began (as I suppose is their usual manner) to beat upon the ground with little sticks, or make some motion with something in their hands, and pause a little, till one of the elder sort sets forth his hymn, followed by the company for a few minutes, and then a pause; and the like was done by another, and so by a third, and followed by the company as at the first; which seemed exceedingly to affect them and others. Having done they rose up and danced a little about the fire, and parted with some shouting like triumph or rejoicing.

I leave Pennsbury, but intend, before I leave the Indians, to say something more concerning that people, which I met with near Caleb Pusey's house in Pennsylvania, viz. as I was walking in the wood, I espied several wigwams or houses of

the Indians, and drew towards them, but could not converse with them; but looking over them in the love of God, I found it to be my way, as I apprehended, to look for an interpreter, and go to them again, which I did; and when I came to them, and signified that I was come from a far country, with a message from the great man above (as they called God) and my message was to endeavour to persuade them, that they should not be drunkards, nor steal, nor kill one another, nor fight, nor commit adultery, nor put away their wives, especially for small faults, which (as I understood) is usual with them to do; for if they did those things, the great and good man above would be angry with them, and would not prosper them, but bring trouble on them; but if they were careful to refrain from these evils, (before mentioned) then would God love them, and prosper them, and speak peace to them: or very near these words. And when the interpreter expressed these things to them in their own language, they wept, and tears ran down their naked bodies, and they smote their hands upon their breasts, and I perceived said something to the interpreter; I asked what they said: he told me they said, all that I had delivered to them was good, and except the great man had sent me, I could not have told them these things. I desired the interpreter to ask them, how they

knew what I had said to them was good: they replied, and smote their hands on their breasts, The good man here (meaning in their hearts) told them what I had said was all good. They manifested much love to me in their way, and I believe the love of God is to them, and all people in the day of their visitation.

Having left them, I came to a Friend's house in the lower part of Pennsylvania, who was in the office of a justice of peace, and had been convinced not long before by Thomas Story: when I came into the house, the man's wife was very uneasy, and called me a deceiver, and wrung her hands and said, "Woe is me! I am undone, my husband is deceived; and what more deceivers come!" O how she lamented! I was somewhat struck with the passion the poor woman was in; however I said little, but sat down, and after some time it rose in my mind to ask her in what her husband was deceived: was he, since he came amongst us, any worse husband to her; if he was, it was a bad sign; or, was he a worse father to his children; or any worse neighbour; or in any particular thing which she could name, changed from better to worse, since he was convinced of the truth; if not, she had no great reason to complain; if he had turned drunkard, railer, fighter, or become a vicious man, she would have had reason to complain; but she honestly owned

she had nothing to charge him with. He sat by me and heard all our discourse, but said nothing. I told her she had made a lamentable outcry about her husband's being deceived, but had not convinced me of any cause that she had received from her husband for her sore complaint.

Being weary, having rode a great way that day, I with my companion Richard Orm took leave of her husband, and went to our rest, and saw him no more till the next day in the evening, and when he came, I asked him for what reason he left us so long, as he knew how uneasy his wife was about us, and that we had a great want of him: He said, he had been giving notice of the meeting twenty miles one way, and two men had given notice as far, each man his way; that was six score miles in and out.

Our landlady, against we rose in the morning, had got another woman, a justice's wife, to help her to dispute with us, and overthrow us, as she hoped, but in vain, for truth proved too hard for them; although the other woman charged high in the morning, and said, we were no Christians. I said, it was easier to charge than to prove; "how do you prove it?" "Because," said they, "you deny the precious ordinance of Jesus Christ." I asked, if they could prove it to be such: they said they did not question but they could. I said they should do it from plain texts

of scripture, verbatim as it lies, without any inferences, consequences, or comments upon the places they insisted upon; and they agreed to it. But, in case, I told them, they should fail and not prove (as they thought they could) that ordinance to be so appointed by Christ, I hoped then they would allow us to be Christians, notwithstanding what they had charged to the contrary; and they said they would.

I then repeated all the preliminaries, and asked them if they would agree to each particular: they said they would. I desired Richard Orm to mind them, and imprint them as much as might be in his memory, for it was like enough we should have occasion to call them in question before we had done; which came to pass not long after we began; they urged the 28th of Matthew in defence of water baptism, where Christ said to his disciples, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Water not being mentioned, the disputants were at a stand, and said, It must be implied: I shewed them, that by their agreement to the preliminaries, there were to be no inferences, but plain scripture. I told them, it was an unreasonable thing to undertake to un-

christian - a great body of religious people by a few inferences, which might be true, or not true. Now when we had tagged at it, and searched the New Testament a great while, they could not find what they desired, although they urged what Peter said in a certain case, "Who can forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" I shewed them, that there was a great disparity between a servant's question, and a master's command. When they were even weary with searching, and could not find a positive ordination by Christ for water baptism, they gave it over, and I asked them, if they had not fallen short of the proof of what they had so boldly charged upon us in the morning. My landlady confessed, they had fallen short of their expectation; but the other was in the mind, as she said, that it might be proved: I told her, she would not prove it from any plain text of scripture.

My passionate landlady became more meek and friendly, and received the truth in the love of it; we had a good meeting the next day, and she said, if I would stay that night I should be as welcome as her own children; but if not, she blessed the Lord for my company, and the good she had already received by me, and parted with me in much brokenness of heart; and heard she lived and died in good unity with

Friends, But oh ! how glad was her husband to see that great and sudden change wrought in her ! it was the Lord's doing : to him be the praise now and for ever, for he alone is worthy.

I had many comfortable meetings in my travels through these provinces, and good service, We were at a yearly meeting at Tredhaven in Maryland upon the eastern shore, to which meeting for worship, came William Penn, Lord Baltimore and his lady, with their retinue, but it was late when they came, and the strength and glory of the heavenly power of the Lord was going off from the meeting ; so the lady was much disappointed, as I understood by William Penn, for she told him, she did not want to hear him, and such as he, for he was a scholar and a wise man, and she did not question but he could preach ; but she wanted to hear some of our mechanics preach, as husbandmen, shoemakers, and such like rustics ; for she thought they could not preach to any purpose. William Penn told her, some of these were rather the best preachers we had amongst us ; or near these words. I was a little in their company, and I thought the lady to be a notable wife, and withal a courteously carriaged woman. I was also in company with the governor of Virginia, at our friend Richard John's house, upon the west cliffs in Maryland, for we both lodged there one night, and I heard that he had

been studious in a book against Friends, called the Snake, and Friends greatly desired he might have the answer, called the Switch, but knew not how to be so free with him as to offer it to him; I told Friends I would endeavour to make way for it. Although he had seemed to be a man of few words, yet at a suitable interval I said to him, I had heard that he had seen a book called the Snake in the Grass; he confessed he had. I desired he would accept of the answer, and be as studious in it as he had been in the Snake; which he promised he would and took the book.

There happened a passage worthy of note either in this or the preceding governor's time in Virginia, as I was credibly informed, which was thus; The governor wanted a cooper to mend his wine, cyder, and ale casks, and some told him there was a workman near, but he was a Quaker; he said, if he was a workman, it made no matter what he professed: so the Quaker, such as he was, was sent for, and came with his hat under his arm: the governor was somewhat at a stand to see the man come in after that manner, and asked if he was the cooper he had sent for: he said "Yes," "Well," said the governor, "are not you a Quaker?" "Yes," replied the man, "I am so called but I have not been faithful." He then asked, "How long have you been called a Quaker?" The poor

man said, "About twenty years." "Alas for you poor man," said the governor, "I am sorry for you!"

By this we may clearly see, that such who walk most up to what they profess, are in most esteem among the more thinking and religious people; and the unfaithful and loose libertine professors of the truth are slighted, and I believe will be more and more cast out as the unsavoury salt, which is good for nought in religion, and is indeed trodden under the feet of men; for a great part of the men in the world have such an understanding as to know what we profess, and also what we should do and be in many things; let us therefore walk wisely before all, and not be an occasion of stumbling, nor give offence either to Jew or Gentile, nor to the church of God, that so we may indeed be as a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid; nay, that may not desire to be hid, but rather that the inhabitants of the earth might see our good works, and have an occasion from thence administered, to glorify the Father which is in heaven.

I having it on my mind to visit a meeting up the river called Perquimus, on the west side of the great river Choptank, and I being on the east side, Henry Hosier and some more Friends set forward with me in a small boat, not in good condition with only one small sail: we set out, as we thought, in good time to reach our desired

port, but when we were upon the great river (as I remember it is ten miles over the shortest way, but the manner of our crossing it made it more) the wind veered much against us, being then within about four points of our course, and it rained hard, and was very dark, so that we could scarce see one another, and the water broke so into the boat, that it was most of one man's work to heave it out, and all our company were discouraged, and most of them very seasick: Henry Hosier, of whom I had the most hope for help, said, that he could not steer the boat any longer. What by the extreme darkness, the roughness of the waves, boisterousness of the wind, and hard rain, I, unwell as I was, was obliged to undertake the steering of the boat, and not without some conflicts of mind, not having any certainty, from any outward rule, what way we went, having no fire, and the boat being open, we could not have any light to see our compass, but my faith was in the Lord, that he would bring us to shore; and I kept the boat as near the wind as she would sail, and told my poor sick and helpless company, I believed that we should not perish, although we might miss our port: but the like imminent danger, I think, I was never in before upon any water; but renowned over all be the great name of the Lord for ever, we put into the mouth of our desired river Perquimus, as though we had

seen it in the day or steered by a compass, neither of which we had the benefit of for several hours.

Here we went ashore and made a great fire under the river's cliff, and about midnight the moon rose; and it cleared up and froze, and was very cold: my companions falling asleep, I turned them over, and pulled them from the fire as it increased, and put them near as it failed, but could not keep them awake; I sought logs of wood, and carried them to and minded the fire which was work enough for the remaining part of the night; but morning being come, we got into our cold icy boat, and sailed away towards the meeting. When we were come among Friends, notice was given of a stranger being there, and a heavenly and sweet meeting it was, so that we thought we had a good reward for all our trouble, blessed be the name of the Lord now and for ever, for he is worthy: although he may see good to try us, sometimes one way and sometimes another, how should we know that we have any faith, if it be not tried? how shall we know that we have any true love to God, if it never be proved? The trial of the true believer's faith is more precious than gold. The excellent sayings of Job came into my mind, "Behold, I go forward, but he is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive him: on-

the left hand, where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: he hideth himself on the right hand, that I cannot see him." Job. xxiii. 8, 9. And then in verse the 10th, he like a man in the true faith, saith, "The Lord knoweth the way that I take; and when he has tried me, I shall come forth as gold:" and the more vehemement that the fire is, the more it destroys the dross, and the more pure and weighty the gold is, which hath passed through the most severe fires.

I had a meeting when in Virginia, at a Friend's house, whose name was Matthew Jordan, and something which I said in the meeting, somewhat offended a young woman, a Presbyterian, and not having, as she said, a suitable opportunity while I was there, to discourse with me, being busy in her master's affairs, (for she was the Friend's housekeeper) she desired liberty of her master to go to the next meeting that there she might ease her mind to me about the offence I had given her in the first meeting; (it was something about election, and they told me what it was, but not writing it down, it went from me) and accordingly she came to the meeting, where the Lord's mighty power broke in upon us, to the tendering of many hearts, to Friends' mutual satisfaction, and it proved a good day to the aforesaid young woman; her heart was as if it had melted within her, and she shed

many tears, and I am satisfied went from the meeting in fear and in great joy; in fear, how to walk as not to offend Christ the Elect, which before she could talk of, but now she had met with, and he had opened her state to her: and joy, that she had met with the Messiah, the Elect of the Father, his choice and beloved Son; so that she could now say, "Where are the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world?" All her brisk talkative qualities were swallowed up in the feeling of the internal, enlightening presence of Christ.

When she returned to her master's (before mentioned) he asked her if she had got satisfaction; meaning, had she had any discourse with me and was satisfied. She replied, she was satisfied. Some time after I met with her in Philadelphia, plain and truth-like, but knew not who she was at first. The manner of the working of the truth is to humble the creature, and bring it into contrition, tenderness, and fear, with true self-denial.

Now we came to ferry over the river, being as I remember, five horses and nine people; there was Jane Pleasant, a minister, and her man-servant, who rode before her upon a great horse, and high in flesh, and about the midst of the river, it being two miles over, he rose upon his hind feet, and flung himself upon the edge or gunnel of the boat, half into the river:

the fall of the horse, and the motion of the other horses thereupon caused the boat to make such sallies that it took in water, and was very likely to sink : but before he could have time to rise again, or to make any more springs, I took several young men by the shoulders, and flung them upon his neck to keep him down, and told them, as fast as I could, why I did so. Now I had to deal with the ferryman, who was about to strip for swimming, and said, We should all be drowned ; but for his part he could swim ; and was about to leap into the river, for, he said, the boat would either break or sink. I told him it was soon enough for him to swim, when he saw the boat either break or sink, and if he would not row, then I would. With much intreaty he took the oar again, and rowed us to the shore. But in our imminent danger I looked over my tender friends, (for so they appeared to me) and thought in my heart what a pity it would be, if all these were drowned ! yet the thought of my own drowning never entered my mind, until I was got over the river, which was a mercy to me, and a great means to keep out disorder and confusion, which commonly attend sudden surprises and frights, or else they make people dead-hearted and almost senseless.

As I had now occasion to observe, as well as in some imminent dangers I had seen before,

where I happened to be, I find it an excellent thing to be, as much as we can, always ready, and by being frequently thinking upon death, it is not so surprising when it does come: this is a great point of true wisdom, to number our days so, as to remember our latter end. The want of thus contemplating and truly thinking on what preparation we are in to look death in the face, and to appear before the great judge of both quick and dead, was the cause of the complaint, "Oh that my people were wise! that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!" The great remissness of such considerations among people, bespeaks folly and great insensibility, and that the heart is hardened through a habit of sinning. O that I might prevail with the children of men to awake. Arise, you that sleep in sin, and are at ease therein, that you may come to hear inwardly the call of the Son of God, that your souls may not only live here to serve God, but also may live eternally with him in bliss, is the desire of my soul for the whole bulk of mankind; for my life has often appeared not dear to me, in comparison of the saving the souls of the children of men.

I have often thought of Moses, how far he went for the saving of Israel, and how far Paul went for the saving of his kinsfolk after the flesh; it was a great demonstration, that ther

great and good men had great faith and interest in the Lord, and also a very great love to his people; and such whose eyes are truly opened, cannot but see it is the love of God, and love to the souls of men, that constrains us thus to take our lives as in our hands, and labour under many weary steps, and many perils by sea and by land, and in the wilderness, cold, and sometimes in tumults and noises, sometimes in watchings and fastings, that we have been sometimes spectacles to men; but the Lord hath given us faith and patience to bear and overcome all, as we have singly stood in his heavenly counsel, and been truly devoted to his will in all things.

Something more which I have before omitted occurs to my memory: when I was in that part of Virginia towards North Carolina, to visit Friends, a very great mist arose, and we went wrong, until the guides were so far lost, that they confessed, they knew not east from west, nor on which hand we had left the road, although it was in the fore part of the day, but neither wind nor sun to be felt or seen; then I told them, I would try what I could do, if they did but know what quarter we should go to: they said we should go towards the south: then I brought out my little compass, which I had made before I left England, and took it in my hand and steered by it, till we all came

into the road ; for that inward sense I had did persuade me, that we were to the westward of the road, so leaning a little to the eastward of the south point, we came right as before, and when so, the guides much rejoiced, and said, I was fitter to be guide in a wilderness country than they. My compass was not so big as a tailor's thimble, which had often been of use to me, and others with me.

Now the time came on for my leaving all my near and dear Friends in those parts, and I embarked for the Islands the 6th of the ninth month, 1702, with my companion James Bates, on board of a sloop, Samuel Salter, master, for Barbadoes, and we put into Bermudas in our way ; soon after we landed, being on the 21st of the same month, we were sent for by governor Bennett to come before him, and being near his door, a man came and clapt me on the shoulder, as we were walking on our way, and said roughly to us, " You must go before the governor," and seemed to hasten us : I replied meekly, " I am willing to go as fast as I can, but I have been very sea-sick, and can go but weakly." the man fell from his roughness, and bid us take time, and carried himself very civilly to us, and put us by a man who was keeping sentry at the governor's door with his musket on his arm, and when we were com- into a large room the man left us, and we st

ing a while, I began to reason in myself, "What if the governor should be a rigid man, and be severe to us, and either confine or punish us?" But I said in my heart, "Lord, thou that knowest all things, knowest that I have not only offered up my liberty, but life also, for thy name and gospel's sake," and immediately all fear and reasonings about human power were taken away from me.

I being not well, and weary with walking from the ship, sat down to rest myself unbidden, when there came a friendly well carriaged young woman, who I supposed to be a servant, and spoke kindly to us; I desired her to do as much for us as to give us something that was small to drink, for we were very thirsty, and had been much out of health, and were not well recovered since we came from sea, having had rough weather: she brought us wine and water, and a thing to mix them in; so taking most of a glass of water, and a very little wine poured into it, I drank and was very well refreshed. By this time the governor called us into an upper room, and as I came near to the top of the stairs, going but faintly, for reasons before given, the governor put forth his hand and reached to take hold of mine, and like a tender father drew me up, and led me along towards a great window, and stood and looked at me and said, He believed he knew what I

was, and my business too. I replied, It might be so, and asked, if he was the governor of that place: he said he was, and bowed his head. I then spoke to him in the love of God and said, "Thy countenance bespeaks moderation, and the apostle said, 'let your moderation appear to all men, for the Lord is at hand ;'" and it was with me to say to him, "The Lord of heaven and earth bless thee and all thine." He bade us sit down, and gave us each a glass of wine, and enquired from whence we came; I told him, My home was in Old England, but it was long since I was there; my companion's was in Virginia. He wanting to know the affairs in Europe, I told him, There was a merchant belonging to the same ship that we did, who was lately come from Europe, and I thought was a man of parts and memory, and well versed in the affairs of those parts of the world, and when we came into this place he was with us. The governor then sent for him, and when he came, he answered his expectation in resolving all or most of his questions, for the knowledge of the news appeared to me to be the young man's talent. Having done with, and dismissed him, he said, He must now have some discourse with us: then rose up all the great men who were with the governor, to make way that I might come near him. I said, If it was the governor's mind, I had rather sit where I was,

for I sat well in the air, and that suited well with my present weakness. So he bade them all sit down, and they did so.

"Now" said he, "I want to know the reasons why you, as a people, where you live, do not assist the king and country with men and arms, for their and your own defence and safety, against all that may attempt or endeavour your hurt." I replied, "The most convincing reasons I have to offer to the governor are, we have neither precept nor example from Christ, or his apostles, to use the sword to hurt one another withal." "No?" said he, "what then means that saying of our Saviour, when he bade him that had not a sword, sell his cloak or coat and buy one?" I replied, "one of his disciples answered and said, Lord, here are two; Christ said, It is enough. Now how two swords can be enough to answer for a general precept, I leave the governor and all these men to judge." So after a little pause he said, "In case you was assaulted by robbers that would break your house, and take what they could get from you, or upon the highway, and would take your purse or horse, what would you do in that case?" I replied, I could not directly answer what I should do in such a case, because through the Lord's mercy I was never yet so assaulted; but it appears most likely, that I would endeavour to keep my house from being

broken up, and yet withal be tender of men's lives; and as to the other assault, inasmuch as it is well known I do not provide any outward weapon for my defence, neither sword, pistol, nor any such like weapon, therefore I must rely upon the Lord for protection and help, who is able to rescue me out of the hands of all such ungodly men: or if he does not I must endeavour to bear what the Lord suffers such to do unto me. The governor said, "You say well: for inasmuch as you have not provided any thing for your defence, you have nothing to flee to but the Lord; you say very well;" and said, he hoped what he had offered had not given any offence. I replied, it was so far from that, we were glad he was so free with us; yet if he pleased to dismiss us, we should be willing to be going, for night came on. He said There were some of our Friends would be glad to see us; I replied, I understood there were some further on the island that did own us, but how much they were of us I could not tell, for I had not seen any of them. He asked Whether we had a mind to go by water or by land, for he had a boat, and a couple of hands should carry us where we would; or if we had a desire to ride, he had two horses, we might take them and keep them as long as we staid upon the island. I endeavoured to persuade him to let us go without troubling himself any further, for I was sensi-

ble of his good will and love to us, and having his countenance, was more than we expected, and as much as we desired. He still urging to know, after what manner we would choose to go ; I told him, I was very sensible of his generosity to us who were strangers, and if he would be easy and let us pass, we had wherewithal to defray our necessary charges, either by water or land, as would answer best with our convenience. He pressed upon us to accept of his offer, for he said, he did not do it in compliment to us : then seeing no way but to accept of his generous offer, I said, riding at present would be much more acceptable to me, considering how I had been lately fatigued at sea, of which I was not yet well. He immediately gave orders for the horses to be brought to the door, which being done, and we having notice thereof, I rose up and made an offer to go, and the governor likewise rose up and came and took me by the hand, and so we went down the large stairs into the large room where we first entered in the Lord's dread and holy fear. Here I had resigned my life and all to the Lord who gave it, and my life at that time, as at many other times, was not dear to me for Christ's sake ; and being thus resigned, I felt the love of God, and a measure of that life was manifest, in which I had dominion over men,

bonds, and over death, and the power of darkness ; blessed be the Lord for ever.

Now coming to take horse, I looked out at the door, and saw two horses, and a man holding them beyond the pavement, and the sentry as before in the street, and the horse next the door, which I supposed I was to ride on, had a saddle on the back of it, set about with three rows of shining silver lace, I thought about two inches broad on each ; the governor holding me by the hand, and looking in my face, it is not unlikely but he might think, as I used to say, I looked very sheepishly at it : he said to me, " I am apt to think you are not used to ride upon such a saddle as this ; " I told him, If he could let me have one more like myself (plain) without much trouble, I should like it the better, but if not, I could ride on it, I thought, without much straitness, in case of necessity. He answered, he could not, for horses and saddles too were scarce on that island, for the one was that which he rode on, and the other was for his man ; but he said, he would tell me how to prevent all this, if, said he, you get over the inlet of water ; though he questioned it, because the wind blew very strong in the mouth or inlet of the river, but, he said, he spoke not this to hinder our taking his horses, but if we got over, he said, we should come to Richard Stafford's, an old judge of life and death, and might ask there for th

cover for his saddle, which ties on with little straps at each corner and hides all this, and then it will be like yourself: but if the ferryman says he cannot carry the horses over, what man soever you meet, white or black, if capable, tell him he must bring me my horses, he dares do no other but bring them; and be sure you take no further thought for them: and if we met with any thing in his liberty that might trouble us, let him but know and he would help it, if it lay in his power; and so with his blessing on us, we took leave of him, and came to the water side, but could not get the horses over, therefore sent them back again, and intended to have staid at the ferry house all night, but the boat was about going over as we lighted; and notice being got some way or other to the judge's ear, that there were two strangers on the other side of the water, he had sent a boat and a couple of men for us, who said, we must go, for the judge said, he could not sleep until we came; "whatsoever the matter is we know not," they said; so we went, after asking, if they at the ferry house had been at any cost or trouble on our account in providing supper, for as yet we had not eaten any thing since we landed; the people said, No they had not done any thing which we should pay for. It grew dark and very stormy, and the sea broke over the boat, so that some of us were forced to hold our coat laps one to touch another on the

weather side, to keep out the breakers of the waves, that they might not fill the boat; and we came safe over to the judge's house, and no sooner got into the passage but his friendly wife met us, and asked us, if we were the strangers her husband had sent for; I said, "We are strangers." She bid us follow her to the judge, and we did so. When we came to him he rose up, and took the candle in his hand and said, "Are you the strangers that I have sent for?" I said, "Whom thou mayst expect we know not, but we are strangers." When he had looked well in my face, he set down the candle and said, "What a mercy is this, that the Lord should send men from I know not where, in his love to visit me!" and took me in his arms and kissed me; and I said to him, "The Lord of heaven and earth bless thee;" and we shed many tears and wept together.

As I entered the house, I thought, I felt the love of God, and his glory, shine in and fill every room as I passed through them, and I said, "Peace be to this place," and I felt it was so. He inquired of our travels, and from whence we came, of which we gave him a brief account; he also asked, If I knew any thing of the family of Staffords at Lahorn near Haverfordwest in South Wales: I told him all I knew about them, both of the dead and of the living; with which he was pleased, and said, he had not heard of

them many years, and that family were his near kindred.

Now as the judge was somewhat troubled with the gout, I found his usual bed time drew near, and I made an offer to go away lest I should discommode him, yet he appeared unwilling to part with us; but considering his own ailments, and our early rising in the morning, he at length consented; but before we parted, his wife asked leave of him to go with us on the morrow to the meeting, to which he readily assented if he was not worse of his distemper, and then ordered how we should ride, and which negro should go, not only to help his wife but us also, and take our horses when there was occasion, and do any thing he could for us; and indeed so he did, and appeared to me to run on his feet without much trouble, being a lively young man.

I omitted before, that the judge asked, if we had seen the governor, and if he was kind to us; I told him he was very friendly to us, and said, if we met with any trouble in his liberty that he could help us in, only let him know and he would right us. The judge said it was very well and he was glad of it. I perceived the judge was rather a moderator of the governor, he being an ancient wise man, and had lived long as a judge upon the island, and understood (it is like) more fully the state of things there than the governor could be capable of, he being

but a young man, although he appeared to be a wise man, and as William Penn said, came of an ancient and honourable family in England, which he knew very well, whose name was Bennett. Afterwards I told William Penn how it had fared with us on that island; and especially the kindness of the two chief men in power there, and William Penn wept, and said, he had not heard any account of this nature, that he had been so much affected with, as he remembered these many years.

Now we left the judge until the morning, and got some small refreshment, it being late, and I had been faint for several hours for want of eating, but the Lord's heavenly power bore me up over all, so that at times I felt no want of any thing: Oh! renowned over all be the name of the mighty God, now and for ever. We went to bed, and when morning came, I with my companion were stirring early, having eight miles to the meeting, and it being in the latter end of the ninth month, we were willing to be in such time, that we might give some notice to the people. I was walking in our lodging room early, and the judge's wife came to the door and asked, If she might speak with us; I said She might: then she came in and said, She had a message from her husband to us; I queried, What it was; she said, He desired we would come and pray for him before we went away. I

desired she would favour us so much as to lay before her husband something which I had to say and she promised she would: "Well then, tell the judge, that if he will suffer us to come into his room, and sit down and wait upon the Lord, as our manner is in such a case as this, if it please the Lord to move us by his Holy Spirit to pray, we may; but if not, let not the judge take it amiss, for we are willing to be at the Lord's disposing in all things." She went, and I believe, as she said, laid the matter before him, as I had delivered it to her; for she was a woman of a good understanding, and came back again to us in a very little time; I asked, What the judge said; she replied, he said, "Let the men take their own way, and whether they pray for me or not, I believe they are men of God." So after some little respite, we being brought to the judge's bed-side, sat down and waited upon the Lord, who was pleased in his love, and by his mighty power to break in upon us, and also opened my mouth in his gift of grace and of supplication, in which gift ardent and fervent cries went up to the Lord of heaven and earth, that he would send health and salvation to the judge, and also to his family, and to all people far and near, that all every where might repent, and come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved. The judge wept aloud, and a mighty visitation it as to his family, and especially to himself and

his tender wife. We left the judge in a fine frame of spirit, and no doubt near the kingdom, having his blessing and earnest request, That when we could reach his house we would not fail to come to it, for we were very welcome; and I found and felt it so, and it was mostly our lodgings; his wife and foot page went with us to all the meetings except one, while we were on the island, which was about two weeks, in which time we had many good opportunities among a sober behaved and well carriaged people, from whom we met with no opposition, but had large quiet meetings.

When we were clear as we thought, of the island, we went to take our solid leave of the governor, acknowledging his civility and generosity to us strangers, and I told him and the judge, that they would not want their reward for what they had done to us, and such who should take their lives as in their hands, and come in the love of God to visit those remote parts of the world, which we durst not have undertaken if we had not believed it required of us by the Almighty, and our peace concerned in it, as also the glory of God, and the good of the children of men; these are the motives to those our great undertakings: or words to that purpose. So we parted in much love, with these great men, especially the judge, with tears on his face, as also his tender and friendly wife

who had been very serviceable to us, in ordering meetings, and making way for us, and none like her in all the island, that we met withal, she being given up to that service, for the encouraging truth and Friends in what she was capable of.

Being invited to a Friend's house to dine one day, when we were sat down at the table, the woman of the house desired that one of us would say grace; from which I took an occasion to shew her, and several more in the company, who appeared not much more grown in the truth than she, that since we had been a people, we had both believed, and accordingly practised, that true prayer was not performed without the help of the Holy Spirit of God, and no man could pray aright and acceptably without it; nor was it in man's power to have it when he pleased; therefore it is man's place to wait upon the Lord for the pouring forth of this gift upon him, and also to know whether it be required of him to pray so as to be heard by man, or only to pray secretly, so as to be heard of God, as did Hannah, and many more have done; which as they do aright, no doubt but, as Christ said to his disciples, their Father will hear them in secret, and reward them openly; or to this effect: with which they all appeared satisfied.

We then went on board our vessel, and set sail

with a fair wind for the east end of the island in order for Barbadoes ; but soon after we got out to the mouth of that inlet where we arrived first, the wind came full against us, and we put in there again ; and the master, although not called one of us, said, in a friendly manner, "What is the matter now ? this is along of you, Mr. Richardson," (as he was pleased to call me, although I often shewed my dislike to it) "you have something to do yet upon the island." I said, "I know not of any thing:" but he seemed positive, and withal said, if the wind came fair at midnight, he would call, if I was willing, if not, he would stay as long as I pleased. I said, I knew not of any thing to hinder, but he might call as soon as the wind came fair. So we parted, only giving him an account that we intended to go for the judge's house. It was late in the evening when we got there, and the judge was gone to bed ; but his wife was up, who lifted up her hands with more than ordinary surprise, and much joy, and said she was always glad to see me, but never more than now : I said, "Why so?" She then began to tell, how that since I went away, there had been a man with the judge, who had incensed him against me all that ever he could and said, He knew me in England, and that was broke, and came into those parts to preach for a living. I asked, what her husband said :

all that ? She said, his answer was to the man, that he believed I was no such person, but an honest man ; yet the accuser seemed very positive. I said, it would be well if this man could be brought with me to the judge's face, that he might be convinced, not only of the man's ignorance of us as a people, but of me in particular, and his envy against me be made known ; upon which I opened to her the case of such journeys and services, how we proceeded, and how the meetings were constituted in which we did so proceed, and from whence we had certificates, from monthly, quarterly, or meetings of ministers to which we belonged, and from Friends in the several provinces and islands where we travelled, if we desired them, many of which I could shew the judge, if time would admit ; but she said, lest we should be called away in haste, she craved to see some of those certificates ; I shewed her them, beginning at the first, wherein Friends of Kelk, now Bridlington, monthly meeting in Yorkshire, to Friends in America, shewed not only their full unity with this my present journey, but also with my service for the truth, and conversation in the same, where I had lived and travelled : and that I had settled my outward affairs to Friends' satisfaction, under many hands variously written.

When this great and wise woman saw this, she said, it was enough ; but I shewed her other

certificates from divers places, wherein Friends had signified sufficiently their unity and satisfaction with me; I likewise informed her, that in case any man, not approved by us as a minister, did take upon him to impose his preaching upon any who were strangers to him, such as knew him took care to acquaint the churches therewith, if his intentions could be known, that no impostor might do any hurt; all which she admired, and said, she had never heard so much before, neither did she think there had been such excellent order in the world amongst any people.

Having thus acquainted her with our order and discipline, and afterwards informed her of the cause of our unexpected return, I renewed my proposal of having my accuser before the judge; she told me, she had good place with her husband, and would endeavour to obtain it; and accordingly, after talking with him, she let me know, that the judge expressed his readiness to do me any service which lay in his power, and was of opinion my accuser durst not face either him or me in that affair; but that if the wind continued against us, he would try to find him out, and bring him, which might be of service; but if the wind favoured, she thought I might be easy to go; as indeed I was, and the more so, considering that our captain Salter, who lived near the judge on the same island had shewed a great deal of patience and goo

disposition to us-ward for about two weeks, yet would gladly be gone; so about midnight we were called to go on board the ship, for the wind was fair if we were ready; I replied, "We come quickly:" and so we did, and took leave of all we saw of the family, and remembered our dear love with grateful acknowledgments to the judge, for all his civility and kindnesses he had done to us, with reasons why we could not see him, for he had been afflicted for some time with the gout, and was now fallen into some rest, and we going very early away, were not at our own disposal.

I admired the Lord's good providence in all this, and there was something of a reach from the same watchful providence to order that to be put into my certificate which did so fully remove that slur this enemy would have fastened upon me, (*i. e.*) That I had broke in England, and could not pay my debts, and therefore had come into these remote parts of the world, where I was unknown, to preach for a livelihood; but the contrary fully appeared, that I was known, and well beloved too, and had effects to discharge any just demand upon me, blessed be the worthy name of the Lord now and for ever.

Now I may say something of our affairs upon the sea in this voyage: when Captain Salter had taken us in passengers at Philadelphia for Barbadoes, it being a time of war, and people

somewhat afraid of shipping goods, He said, he was to have two honest Quakers passengers, and he did not fear being taken by privateers, nor pirates. I was troubled at his confidence in us, and told him so, and that it was much if the Lord did not suffer us to be taken, that he might see men were not to be depended upon, but that we ought to depend upon the Lord alone for protection and deliverance; however, in much less time than we expected, goods came, and we were loaded and gone. We had rough weather before we came to Barbadoes; I have given an account of Bermudas, especially about the tropic of Cancer we had very high winds, and I was extremely sea-sick, and so was my companion, and I could eat little, but was treated with remarkable civilities by the captain; for in and about that latitude there are fish not unlike herrings, which fly from wave to wave, and by dipping their fins or wings in the water, they will fly a great way, especially when they are chased by fishes of prey, and almost every morning there were of those fishes found on the ship's deck: and the captain often said, as his manner was, "Mr. Richardson, these are sent for you, or for your breakfast, and seeing it is so, I will dress them myself, for I know," said he, "my cook is so greasy you can hardly eat of his cookery;" which was very true, and therefore he would wash his hands, and lay a

a dispo-
 would gl
 were call
 was fair
 quickly
 we saw
 I love with
 for all
 us, with
 he had
 gout, an
 going v
 posal.
 I ad

this, an
 the san
 be put
 remove
 upon n
 and co
 come i
 I was t
 the col
 and we
 any ju
 thy na

Now

the se
 had ta
 Barba

laboured until noon, and then our captain had lost all his confidence in the Quakers, and said, "We shall be taken, for the ship has gained upon us for several hours, and we have done what we can, and are all spent." I walked upon the main deck under no small concern of mind, and truth rose, and I found it open in the truth, that we should not be taken; the captain said, binding it with some asseverations, "We shall certainly be taken." I said, "No, we shall not, unless by our mismanagement." "Alas," said he, "you are such a man as I never met withal; do you not see the frigate, or Sal-leeman, for that he calls it, is just going to fire a broadside at us, and open her gun ports, and laying the ship's side, and level-ling at her as well as we are, and indeed, our captain, although a Quaker man, yet appeared very glad to be so mortified, and said to me, in a tone of much affliction and trouble, 'where under the diavil could you have been so hardy;'" and that I hardly escaped with my life, and that I hardly escape either by land or sea. I said, "I am not so hardy upon me. I am not so hardy, and desired him to be so, and to do no damage by his fire, and asked, what they should do, and just upon us: I said, "I would not be taken by one or two, or more of."

clean napkin on his arm, and tell me, he would dress me my breakfast in the best fashion he could: I asked him why he would put himself to so much trouble; he said, he never waited on a man in all his life with so much pleasure, and if I were going into any country, where he was going, I should not pay any thing for my passage; so much respect he shewed to me.

Now it happened in the course of this voyage when we were within a few leagues of Barbadoes, one morning early, as soon as day appeared, he that was aloft (upon the watch to look out, as the manner of mariners is, especially in the time of wars and danger) espied a ship, which he and the rest of our most knowing men supposed to be a Turkish frigate, of considerable strength; however, it was a great vessel, and appeared to have a great many guns; when we first saw her, she appeared to be within gun shot. But oh, what a surprise and fright our ship's crew were in! I had not often seen the like. Our vessel being deep loaded, although a good sailor, was less than that which chased us, and to run for it appeared the only way for us to escape, hauling as close to the wind as we could, to keep the sails full; and the vessel being stiff with its great burthen, endured sail well, and indeed they crowded so much sail, that I told them I feared they would bring the rigging by the board; so thus we

laboured until noon, and then our captain had lost all his confidence in the Quakers, and said, "We shall be taken, for the ship has gained upon us for several hours, and we have done what we can, and are all spent." I walked upon the main deck under no small concern of mind, and truth rose, and I found it open in the truth, that we should not be taken; the captain said, binding it with some asseverations, "We shall certainly be taken." I said, "No, we shall not, unless by our mismanagement." "Alas," said he, "you are such a man as I never met withal; do you not see the frigate, or Sal-leeman," for that he called her, "is just going to fire a broadside at us, opening the gun-ports, and laying the ship's broadside upon us, and leveling at her as well as they can?" and indeed, our captain, although he was a stout man, yet appeared very ghastly and dead hearted, and said to me, in a tone which bespoke both affliction and trouble, "Go into my cabin, or somewhere under the deck, for they will fire immediately;" and that where I walked I could hardly escape either the shot or the rigging falling upon me. I said, "They will not fire;" and desired him to be easy, for we should come to no damage by that ship. Well then, he asked, what they should do, for the enemy was just upon us: I said I would fetch them a bottle or two, or more of my best brandy, and they

should take as much as might do them good, but have a care of more, and ply away a while, and you will see they will fall back and we shall leave them. The captain said, although there was no human probability of escaping, yet, for my sake, they would try: and to work they went; I think I never saw men on board of any ship work like them for some hours, and we soon perceived we outsailed them, and by the time it began to be dark, we had left them considerably.

Now all fire and light were forbidden, except what could not be avoided, and all noise; and a council was held, to consult what way to steer, whether the nearest or most common way for the island, or about: for it was reasonable to conclude the adversary would waylay us, if he could, before we came to the island, and the captain said, what I said in the case should be done; after some deliberation, I told him, I was most easy in steering the nearest course, which we did, and saw our adversary no more.

We came to the island next day in much joy, that we had escaped so imminent a danger, but I was very ill in a fever when I landed, which had been growing upon me for several days, this being the sixth day of the week, and the 18th of the 10th month, I was so poorly, that several thought I must die; but I stood resigned in the will of God, whether to die or live.

The first-day being come, I went to the meeting, though with great difficulty, being very weak, where I sat under more than usual exercise, reasonings and conflict of spirit for some time, about my present condition, which was weak and low, and in my own apprehension, unlikely to be of any service, notwithstanding all the troubles and hazards of the sea, and robbers, and other jeopardies in coming here, I was now thus disabled, and laid by as useless. These things were an occasion to me, to consider, whether I had not missed my way in something or other. Many particulars were brought to my mind, whether I had discharged myself faithfully where I had been. And when I looked back, and took a view of my past travels and services in the work of the ministry and discipline of the church, my conduct and whole conversation, I saw nothing but I was clear of the blood of all men; as also clear and well satisfied both as to the time of my coming, as well as to the coming itself, unto this island. There appeared yet two things in my way; first, if this place should be my grave, such as might not watch over me with the best eye may say, "If he had gone at the Lord's command, no doubt but he would have brought him back again;" and secondly, as I had two little children in England, if I finished my course here, they would be left fatherless and motherless:

and I said before the Lord, "Let not my end bring dishonour to thy great name, nor any blemish to the truth which I have loved, and laboured for the promotion of, from my childhood."

When I had thus, or to this purpose, appealed to the Lord, I felt great quietness and resignation of mind; and as I thus sat, a Friend well thought of by several, began to speak in the meeting, and it opened in my mind, that he was not wholly redeemed from having some thoughts, that elementary water had not yet ended its service; I mean in point of dipping: I would have shut it out, for the man appeared a wise, zealous man; and I being altogether a stranger, could not remember I had heard of his name, yet the matter continued, and I thought, for my own satisfaction, I might ask him the question: if he was a right spirited Friend, he would not be hurt; if he was not, he stood in need of help, or at least it was high time for Friends to have a more perfect knowledge of him. So I leave this awhile, and return to the other part of the meeting, which was very remarkable.

During my sitting as before, under much weakness of body, yet quiet in mind, the living virtue or heavenly power of Christ sprung up in my inward man like healing and suppling oil, which so effectually helped me every way, that I could say feelingly and experimentally,

Miracles are not ceased : for I was raised beyond my own expectation, and all others who knew my weak state, to give testimony to the glorious coming and manifestation of Christ in power, spirit, life, light, and grace, for the help, health, and salvation of all the children of men who receive, believe in, and obey his spiritual knocks, reproofs, and heavenly calls in the soul, without any lessening to his humanity. Great cause have I, with all the living to love, value, honour, and reverence the great and mighty name of Him who hath helped and healed, by sending his eternal word of living power into our hearts.

Returning with other Friends to my quarters from this good meeting, not to be forgotten by me, came the before-mentioned Friend to see me; and I having, as I told him, a desire to speak privately with him, he replied, There were none there but his good friends, and I might speak my mind. I told him what I had to say related chiefly to himself, and in such a matter as he might not be willing to have it exposed ; but he would not hear, and said, I might speak it there. I desired he would not take an offence at what I had to say, for I did suppose it to be a secret to all there but himself; and then I said, "The matter is, when thou wast speaking in the meeting, it sounded in the ear of my soul as if one had said, This man (meaning

much pressed down with the many things that are hurtful, especially by the love of money, pride, and forgetfulness of God.

I was invited on board a great transport ship, whereof one Reed was master, who remembered me when I was but young, and was travelling to or near Scarborough; he was loving to me, and several Friends who were with me, and I had good service on board.

There was also on board a French Protestant, now a captain of the English transport soldiers, bound for Jamaica; he lodged at John Grove's and was a very civil man, and said, if I would go with Captain Reed (who offered if I was going, to carry me to Jamaica. free) he would wait on me if I was sick, or ailed any thing; and would gladly have had my company; I acknowledged both their generosity and civility to me, and so I took leave of them, and of the noble captain Salter, who I have had occasion both to mention and to love, who took his solid leave of me, and wept like a child, and said openly in the hearing of many, That he never loved a man so well before, and though he did not want business, yet, for my sake he would serve my friends what lay in his power; or near those words.

I find, as we live and walk in truth, there is an inward witness which God hath placed in hearts of men that is reachable, except in

such who are arrived to a great degree of hardness and insensibility, and so have little sense or perception of good, either in themselves or in others, which is a deplorable state, and much to be lamented. Oh what grief of heart and spirit hath it been to me, to hear and see the wickedness of some! If such wickedness were as great a trouble to them who acted it, as it was to me, I have thought they would soon grow weary of it.

Now I left the island, and embarked on board a ship, John Griffith master, bound for Bristol, in Old England, and went to sea with some East-India ships that had put in at Barbadoes, having a ship of war or two for their convoy. After we were got to sea, they had so much drinking and carousing that we grew weary of staying with them, and after some consideration, the captain, who was a Friend, left them, and came safe to England.

In our passage we had some rough weather near the tropic, which I mentioned before, and the men and captain being much disordered with watching and hard labour, as I remember, for eight and forty hours night and day, a calm ensuing, the captain desired me to take his place for his watch, and mind the helmsman, and see that he made straight steerage; but, alas! he was so sleepy, that it was next to impossible to keep him awake. I walked on the deck

and had overmuch work to mind the compass, and the helmsman too, for a fine breeze of wind came on, and all of a sudden a very unusual fear fell on me, and I looked into the sea, and beheld it appeared to turn blue, and as far as I could discern to windward, I saw white caps, or the water-freckle ; on seeing which, through fear, more than any great skill, I stamped with my foot as though I would have broken the deck. Out came the captain, but what with fear and sleep he could scarce hit the door out of the cabin ; but when he was got upon the deck, he stamped and called out all his hands, and bid them lower and furl the sails with speed, or else we were all dead men, for here is a hurricane just upon us : and no sooner was all made snug as well as could be, (as the seamen phrase it) but the wind blew so, that we thought it would have turned the bottom of the ship upward : the like I never saw ; and as the captain said, we had not one minute to spare of being cast away, according to all human probability ; and, as the seamen term it, it was such hurry-durry thick weather, that we could scarce see any thing a hundred yards, which violent weather held for about an hour, in which time we drove by a vessel, and were so near her, that I thought I could have flung a stone aboard : our ship's crew were sore afraid, and looked upon her to be a robber ;

her rudder was lashed or tied up, and the men were all gone off the deck, but our mariners were so affrighted, that they thought these would set some sail and follow us; for no sooner had we passed this ship but the weather grew better, and away we ran in hazard of bringing the masts by the board, but through the Divine Providence of him that is Lord over all, both sea and land, we escaped, and came safe into Cork in Ireland, where the master lived, and rode there for some time, and then weighed for Bristol, intending for the yearly-meeting there.

We had rough weather in crossing the channel, before we came into the Severn, where our sailors being afraid of being pressed, launched the boat, and ran away into Cornwall, leaving but four on board to bring the ship up the river. We saw a pinnace, having in it a lieutenant with a crew of pressed men, to press more if they could find them, and our master called on me, and desired I would put on my best clothes, and come to him, and so I did, and he set me on his right hand: by this time up comes the lieutenant and asked for my men, taking me for the master; I told him, They had launched the long boat and were gone, and we could not hinder them, they being the strongest party; at which he appeared very much enraged, and seemed as though he would have struck at me. I told him calmly, he had more need pity the

be angry with us, for if there should be a gale of wind, we were in great danger of all perishing for want of hands, for I shewed him what force we had, viz. James Bates, (whom I did not then call my companion,) nor John Griffith, the captain, the cabin boy, and myself were all the men on board. But he asked, What for a man that was who sat beside me? I told him, He was a man sufficiently secured against the press: Then the rough man fell, and said, I looked like an honest man, and he would take my word and not search for men: and then the lieutenant and I parted very friendly.

I write not this as a thing I approved, but disliked; but being taken at unawares, had not time to shun it, (as before mentioned) unless I had exposed my friend, the master of the ship; although I neither said nor did, that I know of, any thing worse than what thou seest here written; I told the captain, I thought he was a great coward, and had exposed me to danger to save himself.

Wind and weather favouring us, we came in due time to Bristol yearly-meeting, where I met with William Edmundson, and was truly glad to see him, with many more at that place; but my companion falling sick, I was made willing to leave him and travelled to London, with John Watson of Ireland, and a sweet spirited man
was; we got to London yearly-meeting,

where I discharged myself of what I had upon my mind, and came away in peace, and in the feeling of the love of God.

John Haydock and I came from London together, and had meetings in our way to York yearly-meeting, where I was glad to see my home-friends, and to enjoy the love of God once more with them ; for this is our principal crown and kingdom in this world, to enjoy the favourable countenance of the Lord, and one another in his living and internal presence ; and when I looked back upon all the mercies and deliverances I had received from the mighty God of heaven and earth, seas, and rivers of water, whose hand made all, and whose eye and watchful providence attends all, and is over all, my soul was filled with thanks and praises to the great and most excellent name of Him who lives for ever, and hath helped my soul to overcome many strong temptations, and hath borne up my head under many deep afflictions and tribulations, renowned for ever be his holy name.

I came home the 18th of the fourth month, 1703, and found my children well ; and now I was under a thoughtfulness how to walk and demean myself so, as that I might be preserved near the Lord, and in due reverence and true fear before him ; that inasmuch as I found there was something of holiness unto the Lord imprinted or engraven upon the fleshly table of my

heart, that now in this time, when I was not so particularly and immediately concerned in the like daily travel on truth's account, I might not lose the savour, relish and sensation of heavenly things. Some will read me here, in this short survey I have been taking of my present state and thoughtfulness, that if I could not make it better, I might not make it worse, either in doing or not doing any thing that might prove a hurt to me ; for a vessel had better be laid by, if it can be spared, than used to its hurt. Now in this careful and watchful frame of mind, I have found preservation from time to time to this day, by retaining the salt of the kingdom in the soul or the inward man, which is of a preserving quality, with which the vessel is, and can only be kept fit for the Master's use : if we lose this, the creature soon grows out of order and unfit for the Master's use. Read and consider these things in time, whilst thou hast the prize in thine hand, and time to do and receive good at the hand of Him who is truly full of good, and is all good : to Him be the offerings of praise and renown now and for ever.

Whilst I remained at home, as my usual manner was, I attended first-day, and week-day, and monthly-meetings, as also quarterly and other meetings for the service of truth, and visited many meetings up and down in the coun-

try, and had good service and much satisfaction in being given up to the service of truth ; but did not see it convenient (as my children were well placed) to settle to keep a family, until my way appeared clear to marry, which did now draw on, and after I had been near seven years a widower, I married Anne Robinson, who descended of a substantial family at Hutton in the Hole, in the parish of Lestingham, not far from Kirby-moorside, in Yorkshire.

We had not been married much above two years, before my wife began to appear in the public work of the ministry ; and indeed very comfortably and acceptably to Friends, and she grew in understanding, both of the discipline of the church of Christ, and also in further knowledge in the work of the living ministry, &c. And about that time it came upon me to visit Friends in most parts of the northern counties in England ; and a short time after my return, I had a concern to visit Friends in several parts of the southern counties, Thomas Beedal, being my companion, who grew in the truth, and also in the ministry : we had many good meetings in that journey, good service and great satisfaction, and I returned home in peace.

Now I must say with sorrow of heart, the time drew on apace when my virtuous wife and I must part, and be no longer help-meets to one another, which we truly were, and never

had either evil word or evil thought against each other, I am fully satisfied; but lived in peace and true love one with another, and were glad when we could either one or both serve truth and Friends; therefore I find it on my mind, in this place, to insert the following relation concerning her, viz.

A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE, CONVINCEMENT, QUALIFICATIONS,
AND DYING SAYINGS
OF THAT FAITHFUL HANDMAID OF THE LORD,
ANNE RICHARDSON,

*Who departed this Life the 18th of the Twelfth
Month, 1711, Aged about Thirty-three years.*

“She was descended of an honest and considerable family of the Robinsons, at Hutton in the Hole, in Yorkshire, and was convinced in her young years, and received the truth in the love of it, and it became valuable and precious to her above all things in this world; and through the blessed work and operation of the grace and Holy Spirit of truth, she was weaned from the world’s pleasures, vanities, and recreations, and from taking any delight in them; and through the virtuous and most precious blood of Christ, she came to witness her heart

sprinkled from an evil conscience and in a good degree made able to serve the living God, and bore a faithful testimony against the needless and superfluous dresses and fashions of the world, as also against the corrupt language thereof; and came to be a great lover of virtue and purity, and had great satisfaction in being in good Friends' company, and at Friends' meetings, and in much retirement and waiting upon the Lord, who in great mercy and condescension to the desire of his handmaid, gave her a large share, not only of the enjoyment of his living power and internal presence, but also a knowledge and clear sight into those things that appertain to life and salvation: and truth thus prevailed over her, and brought every thought into the obedience of Christ, and subjected her will to the will of God, which is a great work, yet requisite to the new birth, without which there is no regeneration; and without regeneration and being born again, there is no entering into the kingdom of heaven.

After this great change was wrought in her, it was evident through the remaining part of her time, that she was much preserved under the power, influence, and guidance of the peaceable, meek, and quiet Spirit of Jesus Christ, and grew daily more and more in the favour and love of God, and was much beloved of God's people, and indeed of her relations, neigh-

hours and acquaintance, who were not of her persuasion; and walked so wisely and prudently in all her ways, that she sought not her own honour and interest, but the honour of the Lord, and inward peace with him, which she had a regard unto in all her undertakings; so that even such who sought for an occasion against truth and the professors of it, had nothing to say against her, not even from her childhood to the day of her death, for she was generally beloved and spoken well of by all who knew her, and many were deeply and sorrowfully affected to part with her, both Friends and others; the like hath not often been seen in those parts, and not without some cause; for she was a woman of an upright life and exemplary conversation before all, and gave no offence to Jew or Gentile, nor to the church of Christ: charitable to the poor, a true sympathizer with such as were in affliction and distress, whether in body or in mind, which was manifested in her frequent visits to such, and by others means clearly demonstrated. She was a woman endued with great patience, and with a quiet and serene mind, well qualified and fitted to her husband's circumstances; whose lot it was often to be abroad in the service of the truth, an honourable and a faithful wife, willing to give up her all for Christ and the gospel's sake, counting nothing in this world too near or dear to part wi

for the glory of God, and advancement of the ever blessed truth, peace and salvation of her own soul, and the good of others.

One thing is remarkable and worthy of commemoration, which I insert as followeth, that others in the like case may not barely and outwardly imitate her, but feelingly come up in her heavenly practice and experience, under the influence, light, and help of God's holy and blessed Spirit, viz. When that worthy servant of Jesus Christ, John Bowstead, returned from London yearly-meeting through several counties to York, and so home with me, not long before my wife was taken away; and having some discourse with her, he asked about several things of moment, especially about her husband being so much from home; she gave him this answer, That inasmuch as she gave up her husband cheerfully and freely to serve the Lord, and to be serviceable to the church of Christ, she did not only sympathize and feel with him in his most adverse and low state, but partook with him in his best enjoyments, when the power of truth prevailed over all its enemies; although I am then far from him, yet I partake of the spoil, or the shedding abroad of the good things of God among his people, as my heart goes along with the work of the Lord, and such as are engaged in it; and in all my husband's afflictions I am afflicted with him; and one of my

main concerns is, that neither I, nor any thing in this world, may detain my husband from doing what the Lord calls for at his hand; for if any thing hurt him as to the truth, what good can I expect of him? This John much admired, with the deep and weighty reasons she gave about the Christian discipline of the church, and concerning the ministry, the like, he said, he had not met with in all his travels before; yet she was a woman of few words, and expressed much in a little compass: and when she was taken away, oh! the loss and sorrow he expressed to me in a letter concerning her death.

She was very clear in her understanding, had a penetrating and discerning eye, a great and inward sense of the state of a meeting, as also of their several particular states. I cannot at present describe to the full all the hidden virtues of this handmaid of the Lord, but there were many visible fruits of her virtuous mind, that did appear to the children of men, some of which were these, viz. She was an affectionate and tender mother to her children, yet did correct them when occasion required, without passion, or the least appearance or disorder of mind, and still had them in great subjection; at which I often admired and thought, surely she is come, by the workings of the Holy Spirit, to a greater dominion over her own spirit than many who appeared to be her equals. She was a true Christian.

a loving and dutiful child to her parents, a good neighbour, a faithful wife, a loving and tender hearted dame over her servants, and overcame them with love, and was much beloved by them, and also feared; they loved her, and were very unwilling to disoblige or offend her.

She appeared and behaved herself as became a sanctified vessel, that was in a good degree fitted and prepared for the great Master's use, and often appeared as one that had been secretly in some intercourse with Jesus Christ in spirit, where his glory had more particularly shone in and over her soul, not only because of the gravity and solidity of her countenance, but also the tenderness, humility and sweetness of her mind and spirit, weightiness of her conversation, edification of her advice, soundness of her judgment, and clearness of her understanding; all which made her company very acceptable while among the living. Her heart was often filled with the love of God, and early raised and enabled to speak a word in season unto many states and conditions, whether at home or abroad, in her own family, amongst her neighbours, or in the church of Christ, in testimony to matters relating to the worship of God, or in matters relating to discipline, especially in the meetings of her own sex, where she had a great service, and will be greatly wanted. She had a great ure upon her for the good education of our

youth in plainness of habit and language, that they might be preserved out of the corruptions of the world in all the parts thereof; in all which services she will be much missed: yet we being sensible that her removal is her great gain, it helps to alleviate our sorrow and loss, which is great, and will not soon be forgotten by many who had the benefit and comfort of her good services. Also her watchful and solid sitting in our meetings for worship was remarkable, with very little motion that was perceivable; yet when the least stirrings of life in her mind were perceived, in order to bring her forth in testimony, the meeting was truly glad, and the living amongst us rejoiced at it, for her appearance was with the wise, and in the language of the Holy Spirit; which was a clear demonstration that the work was the Lord's, and by and through his Spirit and Power; all which gave her a great place in the minds of faithful Friends and brethren. But she is gone in the prime and flower of her age! which sets before and is a memento unto us, to shew us the uncertainty of our time here, and to prepare for one certain to come, that death may not overtake us at unawares before we are prepared for it.

I come now to the time of her long weakness, in which she was preserved in great patience, steadiness, and resignation of mind to the will of God, even unto the end; and she enjoye

much heavenly comfort and consolation in the living presence of the Lord to her immortal soul, so that when she was asked, whether she thought she might recover or not; she mildly replied, she was afraid to desire to live; 'because,' said she, 'I believe if it please the Lord to take me away now, it will be well with me, for I find nothing that lies as a burden upon my spirit.' At another time she said, 'As to that little testimony I have been concerned in, this is my comfort and satisfaction, that I can truly say I did not kindle any strange fire, and therefore could not warm myself at the sparks thereof; but what I did in that matter was in the constrainings of the love of God; and when my cup was full, I a little emptied myself among the Lord's people, yet very sensible of my own weakness and poverty, and often thought myself unworthy of the least of the Lord's mercies.'

Many savoury expressions she spoke that were not written then, and therefore could not be remembered; we having some hopes of her recovery, it rather caused an omission as to such a due observance of what she said as otherwise it is like would have been; although she was heard to say not long before she fell weak, she thought her time would not be long in this world. I never heard an unbecoming or unsavoury word come from her, let the provoca-

tion thereto be what it would, no, not in the time of her health ; and in her weakness, she was much swallowed up in the luminous and internal presence of her Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and often sang praises unto his worthy name, and appeared as one wholly redeemed from this world, whose heart was set upon, and mind intent, and earnestly engaged in the pursuit after heaven and heavenly things. Blessed be the Lord, she had witnessed a part in the first resurrection, and over such the second death hath no power ; and no doubt but she lived and believed in Jesus Christ, even unto the end of her time here, and passed away without any appearance of struggling or sorrow, I believe into a mansion of glory, where her soul shall sing Hallelujah to the Lord God and the Lamb for ever, with all those who have overcome the world, the beast and false prophet, and every thing the Lord's controversy is with, and who have not loved their lives unto death, but given up that life they had in any wrong thing whatsoever."

When I had drawn up the foregoing account, and shewed it to some discreet Friends, they said, it was not beyond her worth ; yet when I looked it over again, with an intent to insert it here, I thought it looked too large ; but upon more mature deliberation, I could not find what part to omit, but it would hurt the whole mat-

ter, therefore as I found it contained encouragement to all tender and well minded people, to persevere in faithfulness unto the end ; caution against pride, passion, and indulging or sparing any wrong thing in church or family ; and something of advice to several conditions and growths in the church of Christ ; it appeared most easy to me, not to lose any of those good fragments which had any thing of a heavenly savour in them, and if I have not missed it, there is something that has a living relish, for without that I should soon be weary of either writing or speaking.

Not long after the departure of my wife, it came upon me to visit the southern parts of England, and some parts of Wales, and I had good service and great satisfaction ; and I was also in London, John Adam being my companion, who was an innocent clean spirited man.

Again, I found it required of me to visit the South West parts of England, in the year 1717, and I travelled through the west part of Yorkshire into Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so on to Bristol, and as far as Cornwall, and had many good meetings ; although I travelled alone, yet the Lord in whom I put my trust and depended upon, helped me, and bore up my head through and over all, renowned be his most honourable name now and for ever.

A remarkable deliverance which happened to

me, being omitted in its proper place, I think fit to insert here, which was as follows :

In the year 1718, and the twelfth month, when John Dodgson was visiting Friends in our parts, he lodged with me, and I went with him and his brother-in-law Peter Buck, to be their guide to Whitby, and staid their first day's meeting, and second day's preparative meeting; and on the third day I went on with Friends towards Scarborough, to have the better road home, there having fallen a great deal of snow while we were at Whitby, so that it was looked upon impracticable for me to return the same way home that I came, it being a moorish bad way: but in our way back, within a mile or little more from Scarborough, we came to a brook, which by reason of the excessive rain and snow was higher than ever I had seen it, so that when we came to ride through it, Henry Levins, our guide, first adventured in, being mounted upon a very strong large horse, and got over with some difficulty, and I followed him; but when I came about the middle of the fording place, it took my mare off her feet, and something being in the way, it turned her upon her broadside, so that I was dismounted and carried away by the rapidity of the stream; but there being a foot bridge a little below, about knee deep under water, and no rail either to be a guide or to lay a hand on, and the water being reduced to a narrow compass,

hurried me violently along, and drove me with my breast against the bridge with such force, that it very nearly knocked the breath out of me; but before I touched the bridge I happened to hold up my hand, and John Dodgson seeing the danger I was in, jumped off his horse, and ran at a venture (seeing the water ripple) to hit the bridge, and just caught hold of my fingers, and held my head above water, until Henry Levins, who was got over, came to his assistance.

But by the strength of the water in my boot-tops they being large, and by a nail in the timber under the bridge, catching hold of my great coat, which held me fast, it was impossible for one man to free me, and not without some difficulty for them both to get me out, the nail holding so fast that it tore out a great piece of my coat, lining and all; but upon Henry's dismounting, his horse ran away to Scarborough, and mine swam back to the company, and when they had got me out, Henry ran on foot to get his horse, and found him at the stable door where he used to stand, and in the mean time John Dodgson kept me in motion by dragging me along, having very little or sometimes no hopes of my recovery. When the horse returned they got me back to Scarborough, but I was not sensible how, and they had me to Dorothy Jaques's house, and when there, they could perceive my lips move, but could not hear what I said, until one laid an

ear close to my mouth, and so understood that I said, If they gave me any thing that was strong, it would carry me off: which made them very cautious: however, they stripped me and changed my shirt, and put me into a warm bed, and applied warm flannel to my feet for three hours together, which I knew nothing of, being then altogether senseless.

Isaac Skelton, who had been a companion of mine in the service of the truth, through several counties, hearing of this accident, came immediately and got into bed to me, and kept me close in his bosom, which many thought was a great means to preserve my life. John Dodgson, though he intended for the monthly meeting, expressed so great a concern for me, that he said, He would either see me in a way of recovery or die, before he left me; yet it pleased the Lord, of his infinite mercy, so wonderfully to raise me up again, as to enable me to be at the meeting next day, and also to bear some testimony which was very acceptable and comfortable to Friends, as it was also to see me there beyond their expectation; but yet I was much troubled with pain, the fleshy part of my shoulder being rent by the violent hauling me out of the water.

In gratitude, my soul can do no less than praise and magnify the Lord for this great deliverance, and all his other mercies, who alone is

worthy. And I cannot but take notice of Friends' kindness and good will to me, in doing whatsoever they could for me, but more especially my worthy friend John Dodgson, who hazarded his life to save mine.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF
MY VISIT TO FRIENDS
IN
IRELAND.

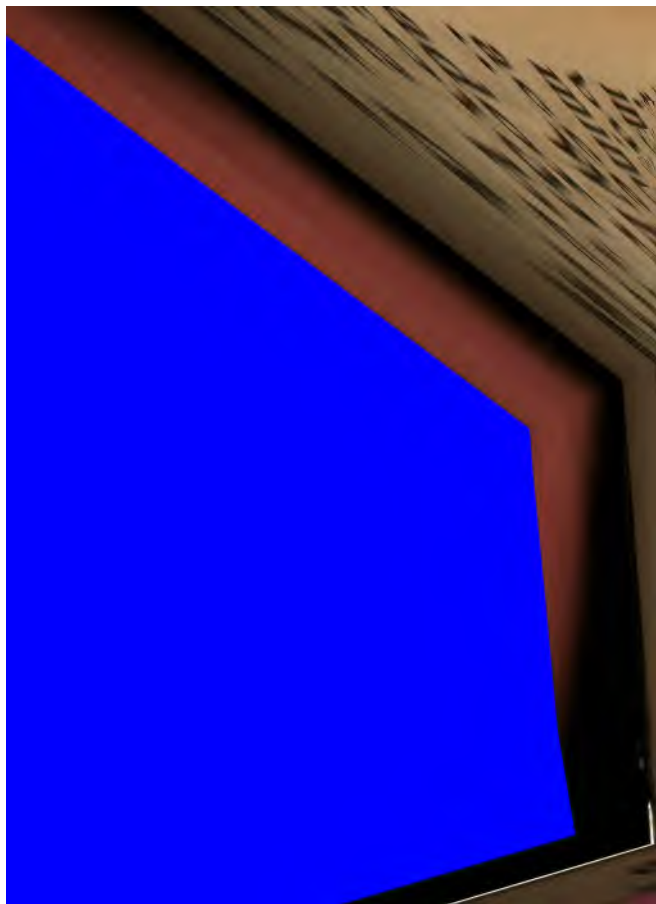
In the year 1722 it was renewed upon me to go into Ireland: the thoughts of it had been long upon my mind, but now the time seemed to be fully come, to pay that long thought of visit; and Joseph Bunting, of Cumberland, being my companion, we went from Kendal Yearly-meeting, which was a large and good meeting, and passed along to Whitehaven, and took shipping for Dublin, and staid their Half-year's meeting, which was large, and in which the living power and presence of the Lord was felt amongst us; exalted over all be the mighty name of the Lord, for those and all his mercies.

I had there many good meetings, and also met with some hard ones (as is the lot of such as are called to this vocation) and the best way I have found, when I met with such is first to

worthy.
Friends' k
whatsoever
cially my
hazarded

the daily steps we
which we are called
we along with us me
in that hath so ruled
and truly to discharge
the Lord hath reposed in
the and edification of the
also to the peace and
souls.

the following re-
will not be remote to
many other places, where
living ministry preserved,
exercised, which mostly
truth and Friends are kept
esteem, and also thriving ;
especially the discipline,
the fashions of the
things, creep in
ven unto the
se who are
of such
s. Oh!
s of the
indeed it
work in
s, and
dition,
'hrist
examples



regard our call, then to mind the daily steps we take in that vocation into which we are called, and take special care to have along with us the company and counsel of him that hath so called us : this is the way fully and truly to discharge ourselves of that trust the Lord hath reposed in us, to the mutual comfort and edification of the churches of Christ, and also to the peace and consolation of our own souls.

It is now with me to write the following remarks on Ireland, which will not be remote to the state of Friends in many other places, where there is a right, sound living ministry preserved, and good discipline exercised, which mostly go together ; there truth and Friends are kept generally in good esteem, and also thriving ; but where these fail, especially the discipline, oh ! how undue liberty, and the fashions of the world, with many corrupting things, creep in amongst the professors of truth, even unto the reproach thereof, and scandal of those who are so prevailed upon ; and hearty sorrow of such as know and feel the hurt of these things. Oh ! what a hindrance this is to the progress of the ever blessed truth in the earth ; and indeed it hath been in my mind that the main work in this our day is to search into the churches, and endeavour to bring them into such a condition, that it may once more be said, Follow Christ ; you have us for examples ; not only here and

there one, but the believers in general; so it will be, when we as a people all speak the same thing, or that which is agreeable, as well in our practice (so often recommended) as in faith and doctrine; for I have ever understood examples to be more prevailing than precept. But if any amongst Friends be grown so hardy, and so insensible, as to prefer some foolish fashions, which to me appear to be shameful and indecent, it is an evident demonstration they are departed from the principles and practices of our worthy elders in the truth; which I fear is the case of too many, both in that nation and in England.

How can our love to, and faith in Christ be true and sound, when our practice is so remote from the practice and example of Christ and his apostles, which they gave, and endeavoured to inculcate? "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable and perfect will of God," Rom. xii. 2. "Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price; for after this manner in the old time, the holy women also who trusted in God

adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands," 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4, 5. Alas! Woe is me, for the hurt of the daughter of Sion, when I consider with regret from whence such are fallen, if ever restored out of the fall.

If we as a people should follow such examples as I have touched upon, certainly we shall become a hissing and a bye-word to all nations round about, who may have heard of us, and what great things the Lord of Hosts hath done for us since we became a people, as may and has been seen and heard in examples, words and writings from our faithful Friends and brethren (the chief promulgators of truth and righteousness) in their unwearied labours, faith and sufferings for the cause and testimony of Jesus Christ; and what also was not less remarkable by their exemplary lives of plainness, humility, sincerity, and self-denial, with works of charity.

Now thou that readest this, beware that thou dost not let in any wrong mind, and in that begin to judge me instead of judging thyself; for as far as I know, I have but done my duty: see first, that thou dost thine before thou begins to judge me. Bear this caution from thy friend, thou that God hath endued with his Spirit, and wait till his Holy Spirit of truth is upon thee a spirit of judgment; as thou abidest under these qualifications, thou art fit to sit in judgment, and

judge wrong things in thyself first, next in thy family, and then in the church of Christ; and be unwearied in thy labours to preserve, as well as to restore, what thou art capable of doing in the church of Christ, from all wrong ways and things; for if corruption and slackness come in, and prevail over the leader, as well as over those whom God hath raised thee up to be a help unto, then will the Lord deal both with thee and them some other way; for I am satisfied the Lord will turn his hand upon his people in these days, as he did upon Israel formerly, saying by his prophet, He would "purge away her dross, and take away all her tin;" not only all gross evils, but also that which in appearance may be like truth, but is not truth: this was and will be the way to "restore judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning:" Oh! then shall the Gentiles see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory, saith the prophet.

Although there is a great occasion for an amendment in many, yet there is a bright and heavenly-minded remnant in England, Ireland, and many other parts in the world, against whom I find not any thing to press upon my mind to complain of; but a word of encouragement springs in the life, in the love and good will of God, to press and persuade you to a steady perseverance in the true faith, and in an exemplary and pious life, (I never saw more

need of this than now, according to my view of the state of things) that when the Lord the righteous Judge, who will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, these, as before-mentioned, may be found clear of the blood of all men, seeing that they have warned them, and given notice when they have seen any danger, or an enemy approach nigh to them.

Here is work for such as God hath set up as watchmen over his people to see that those do not go on in bye-ways, who profess truth, and leave the way of truth unoccupied by them ; here is work for the true judges, who have the spirit of judgment upon them : and notwithstanding some here and there, who may be found in the faithful discharge of that trust the Lord hath reposed in them, may meet with some opposition from such as are unfaithful and not willing to be bounded and girded by the truth, no not so much as to an outward conformity to the plainness and decency, so frequently recommended by the writings, by public testimonies, and also in our meetings for discipline ; for it is a considerable branch of our meetings for discipline to inspect into, and take care to see that Friends walk orderly as becomes our holy profession ; and where wrong steps are made, and wrong ways are gone into, and liberty taken by any who do profess truth with us, that such may be dealt with, and the evil, as also the bad

consequence thereof, laid before them, and they laboured with, and not left ; for although it may be but a small appearance, or beginning of a leprosy, which is naturally apt to spread, unless proper applications, in due time too, be made in the wisdom and love of God ; yet if there be any who prefer their own wills, and so far love that life they have in those things, that are not only evil in themselves, but also of evil consequence by their bad example, more than they love truth and the unity of the brethen, such had better for truth's sake, and for the reputation of the testimony thereof, be dealt with, for ease of the minds of the faithful, who suffer from the sense they frequently labour under of a cloud of darkness and oppression, wrong ways and wrong things.

It may not be amiss to give here a hint at what door many have gone out into divers evils ; first, by being brought by custom to be in love with strong drink, and keeping loose company ; for such have been so far a means to corrupt, and in time to draw away the mind from that simplicity and purity the Lord's people ought to live in, until a cloud has come over the understanding, and the sense of the virtue and heavenly savour of the precious truth is lost ; and then the old inhabitants of the land (comparatively speaking) crowd in again, as pride, passion, lust, envy, loose conversation, open

drunkenness, nay some worse spirits than ever had possessed them before, have now entered their minds with the former, that were once measurably overcome and cast out ; it is therefore certain, that the end of these will be miserable, except the Lord give them a place of repentance while here.

Now my tender and well beloved friends, watch against, and strive to keep out the enemy that he enter not ; for which way soever he enters and gets footing, he defiles God's temple ; and before thou witnesses the Lord to destroy him and cast him out again, thou must have many a sore combat, and some warfare (perhaps more than thou art aware of) before thou gaineest all the ground thou hast lost, by giving way to the adversary of thy soul ; therefore keep upon thy watch tower, watch unto the end, watch and pray continually, that ye enter not into temptation, said our great Lord unto his followers ; for I have found by experience, that it is harder to gain what we have lost, than to keep it while we had it ; and to improve our talents, is not only the way to have them continued, but also to have them more abundantly added unto us ; but such as do not improve what is given unto them, even that which they have been intrusted with shall be taken from them : Oh how desolate and miserable such will be in the day of account, when Christ,

like a great shepherd, divides the sheep from the goats, and between the slothful and the faithful servants, between the wise and the foolish virgins, and between all those who adhered to, obeyed, and followed him according to the measure of light and knowledge received, and those who have rejected and disobeyed the strivings and convictions of God's holy light, and blessed Spirit, placed in the hearts of the children of men to enlighten, instruct, reprove, comfort, and guide, according to the state of every individual mind, as it is conformable or disobedient to inward convictions. So is this holy gift a witness for, or against, to accuse, or excuse in thy conscience, according as thy good or evil doings are and do prevail in thy heart and soul. But this is somewhat a digression from the historical part of my travels; for as I have mentioned before my going into Ireland, I shall now say something more particularly thereof.

We journeyed from Dublin towards Cork, and had several meetings in our way, as at Bellicane, Culladine, Wexford, Lambstown, Waterford, Clonmel, Cashel, Youghall, Cork, and staid their Province-meeting for Munster, which was a good and large meeting. I was much out of order here, by reason of a fever and ague which held me several days, and I

was much obliged to my friends John Dobbs, Joseph Hoare and his family, for the great care they took of me in this my weak state ; I was not without some reasonings for a time, as to my being out of my native country, but the Lord who is mighty in power, helped me and raised me again, and gave me ability to discharge myself of that service I was called to, honoured for ever be the great name of the Lord for this and all his mercies.

Next we came to Charleville, Limerick, Ross, and from thence to John Ashton's, Birr, James Hutchinson's, Montrath, Mountmellick, Henry Ridgway's, and from Balinakil to Montrath again, and were at their six-weeks meeting, which was a heavenly and good meeting, there being a living remnant there : then we came to Kilconner, Carlow, Ballitore, John Stephenson's, Timahoe, Edenderry, and went to see my good friend Thomas Wilson, who was sore troubled with the gravel : I was much afflicted, and truly sympathized with him in my spirit, and John Barcroft, that true man and I, did what we could for our afflicted brother, and so left him and his family in the love of God, and went to Lismoyny, the Moat, Waterstown, Ballinury, Athlone, and had another meeting at the Moat, Oldcastle, Ballihays, Coothill, Castle-shean, Ballihagan, Charlemount, Dumclaudy, Colrain, James Moor's, the Grange, Antrim,

Lisburn, Hillsborough, and was at their province meeting, which was held at Ballenderry, and was also at some meetings twice; Monalen, Trumery, Lurgan, Raffer-Island, Newry, and from thence to Drogheda, and so to Dublin, being the 29th of the fifth month 1722, and staid there some meetings; and a living remnant there is in that city, but it is a rich place; the mighty God of heaven and earth keep his people low and truly humble in that great city and every where else, is the earnest desire of my soul to the Lord; for I know there is a considerable remnant, whose labour and daily travail is to have the church kept clean from all manner of defilements both of flesh and spirit, so that she may be presented unto God the Father without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, in the day when she must appear before the great Judge of all the earth, who will do right unto every one, according as their works are found to be good or evil.

Being clear of Dublin and the whole nation, I took shipping for Whitehaven, and had a short passage but a very rough one, and had some meetings in my way home, to which I got on the 21st of the sixth month 1722, and found my children recovered from the fever and ague, in which I left them when I took my journey, which distemper had so far prevailed over them that they were sometimes scarcely sensible :

had been upon them for a considerable time, and it proved a trial for me to leave them in that very weak state ; but one day as I sought the Lord in the fervency of my heart, to know whether I should leave these my two poor weak children or not, as also my house-keeper much in the same case (who were all my constant family) it sprang in my heart livingly, as though it had been spoke with a man's voice, "Leave them and I will take care of them:" I said "Thou the Lord hast never failed me, I will leave them to thee, do what seemeth good in thy eye with them." I looked then no more behind me, neither at them nor any thing else I had left, but became as if I had not any thing in the world. For thus it behoveth all the servants of Christ to do, even the married as if they were not married; and those that buy any thing, as if they did not possess it: this is a liberty which many are strangers unto, it is wrought by the finger of God, it is the work of God's heavenly power to loosen man thus from the things of this world: and at the same time we are most bound unto Christ, yet enjoy a comfortable and heavenly freedom in our spirits in Christ, by our faith and obedience unto him, in and through all trials, provings and adversities: and dear Friends, the greater the cross, the greater is the crown and reward which all those possess, who do all things

they do with a single mind and an upright heart unto the Lord in all things and at all times.

Thus the children of the Bridegroom are or ought to be espoused or married to Christ, and truly devoted to him, that so they may stand, as much as may be, disentangled from all mutable things, and cleave to and follow him when and wheresoever he calls and leads, and be in subjection to him : thus we may know and experience Christ to become our holy Head ; and that we may hold unto him, and that we may so walk and live, that he may take delight in his church (the body) to rule in and over it, as we have the state of the true church and Christ represented in the most excellent and sacred writings of the holy scriptures. Oh ! that we may likewise know the marriage of the Lamb to be come, and that as of old, we may make ourselves ready, put off the sins and corruptions of the world that are through lust, and put on the Lord Jesus Christ and his pure righteousness : this is the fine linen, the righteousness of his saints ; this is the wedding garment : without which preparations, and true Bride's attire, I cannot see how any can expect an admittance into the Bridegroom's chamber ; therefore I entreat all such as do not find themselves in preparation, and have not their peace assured to them, and want the seal or evidence of the Spirit of the Lord that they are his, not to slumber aw

their precious time until the midnight, lest unexpectedly the cry be heard to sound with terror in thy ears. "Arise trim thy lamp, for behold the Bridegroom cometh," who hath in times past exercised mercy and lovingkindness towards thee, and hath sought divers ways to win thee to love him; he has at times reproved thee for thy evil ways, and at other times he hath set before thee the comforts and happiness thou shouldst possess, if thou wouldst obey and follow him; but if thou turnest thy back upon all his reproofs, intreaties, and endearments (as in the parable of the five foolish virgins) in the time when he, the Bridegroom calls to an account, he will not know thee otherwise than to shut thee out of his presence and favour, notwithstanding whatever thou mayest have heard, received or done, if thou continues to work wickedness, and art not reclaimed therefrom.

These things sprang in my mind as a warning for all to flee from every destructive thing, before the Lord overtakes them, when they cannot escape his hand of justice; and also that the faithful may be encouraged in well doing, and to a faithful perseverance to the end. Amen.

Some things which have been omitted, I think proper to insert here, as worthy of observation. As I was travelling towards Lincoln, and passing through Brig, Friends gave me notice that there were two great disputants, a non-

conformist minister, and a doctor of physic, who were like to go all or most of the way with me, as the assizes were coming on, and would be at me with arguments about religion, which I soon found true; for we no sooner got into a suitable way but they began with me, which I endeavoured to prevent by telling them, I did not look upon myself to be qualified for disputes; and withal I observed, that sometimes disputants ended in a worse understanding one of another than when they began, except they minded well to keep good government; and now as we appeared free and friendly, how we might be when we had ended our dispute, was a question, therefore I had rather they would forbear. But they turned the deaf ear to all that I said, and nothing would do with them, but a dispute we must have. I then asked them, what they would say; they queried, whether all men were placed in a station capable of salvation, yea or nay; I replied, "If I should give my positive thoughts to your question, we shall have occasion to go back to treat of the nature, not only of the upright state man was in before he fell, but also how he fell; and also in the fall, how he stands as in relation to his restoration, which brings us to the question. Although this be not the usual way of disputants, yet if you will submit to it, it will either answer your question, or set it in a clearer light for an answer. They asked, how could

that be ; I replied, If it did not, they might say so. They then so far condescended as to hear me ; and I said, first. "We all agree in this, that man was made upright;" secondly "That he fell from that uprightness;" the question then is, How ? Answ. "By the offence or disobedience of the first man Adam, sin entered, and condemnation came upon all who had sinned." I then queried of the disputants, Whether they believed that Adam's fall did affect all those who did not hear of it, as well as those who did ; for, I said, there were some of opinion, that those who had not the explicit or outward knowledge of the promised seed or coming of Christ, had not the benefit of his coming ; and except they would first allow, that all were affected or hurt by Adam's fall, then such as were not, remained in paradise to this day, except they would make the remedy less than the disease, the plaster less than the sore, and Christ's coming less extensive than Adam's fall. I argued, that upon the foot of reason, as well as what we had in plain Scripture, Christ's coming was as extensive as the fall of Adam, for, by the obedience of Christ, the gift of God came upon all unto justification.

"Now I think," said I, "your question is set in a clear light for an answer, or else answered ; take it at what end you will, (laying aside quibbling) I intend to join issue with you,

and prove that all men are placed in a situation capable of salvation; or otherwise you will leave a great part of the world in paradise, or make the coming of Christ less extensive than the fall of Adam." I then queried, what they said to all this; they answered, they never heard the like before, and they would not meddle with me, I was too great a scholar for them. I said, there was little of scholarship in it: I offered, I thought, nothing but plain scripture and sound reason: and I told them, I had now as good as answered their question, and had given several reasons to back my answer, and as they appeared wise well-read men, and as far as I had gathered, had been principled against universal salvation and universal grace, for them now to drop the matter so slenderly, before me who appeared but like a child to them, was very surprising: but they replied, they would not meddle with me.

I then commended them for their good temper, and the civility they shewed to me, for they were civil to me beyond what I could expect; and they invited me to the burial of one of their deceased friends, but I could not go, for I was in haste to go to Lincoln, having some business there that hastened me. Now at parting with them, my soul magnified the Lord under a sense of his goodness to me, in that he had opened my way, and helped me through this difficulty,

with many other trials and afflictions I had met with.

I had at another time some reasonings with a Papist who was my neighbour, about the visibility of their church, and transubstantiation, with several other things. As to the first, I shewed him, That the true church fled into the wilderness, where she was for times, time, and half a time; in this state we do not read she had any outward character as a visible church; and that if they derived their descent, it was from some false church, and not through the true one. And as to the other, they took too much upon them, more than they could justify from scripture, or clearly demonstrate for Christ or his apostles; for Christ never gave any of them such a commission, as to convert bread and wine into real flesh and blood, and then to call it Christ. "You," said I, "by these notions, deceive yourselves and your adherents; for Christ spoke unto such as you by parables, because they were carnal, and did not understand the meaning of his sayings in this case no more than the Jews understood what Christ meant, when he spoke of destroying this temple (meaning his body) which they understood was of that temple at Jerusalem, which they made a great wonder at, and said, 'How can this be, that he can destroy this temple, and raise it up again in three days, when it was forty-eight years in

building?' Thus they reasoned carnally, as Nicodemus (though a ruler of the Jews) did concerning regeneration or the new birth; and as the woman of Samaria did, from whence Christ should have that living water, which he spoke of, that should be in a man as a well of living water, springing up into everlasting life; and as the Jews did, when Christ said, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;' they said, 'How can this be, that he can give us his flesh to eat and his blood to drink?' But this is a spiritual eating and drinking; even as Christ said, Out of the inward parts of him that believes, shall flow rivers of living waters; which he spake of the Spirit. In like manner it is said in the Revelation, 'Behold I stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice, and open unto me, I will come in, and sup with him, and he with me.' Here is an union of spirits between Christ and his faithful children, and here is an inward eating and drinking of the heavenly, spiritual, and mystical flesh and blood of Christ, which carnal men cannot eat of, neither can the carnal eye discern Christ's spiritual body, which he feeds his living and spiritual church withal." When I had reasoned with the man to this effect, he went away seemingly not pleased, but would not from that time ever meddle with me any more.

I need not say much here about Christ's being come; having shewed, in a conference in New England, how he is come to answer his eating and drinking the passover and last supper with his disciples, saying, He would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until he drank it new with them in his Father's kingdom. Now he that hath experienced what this eating and drinking is, is come beyond the outward eating and drinking, into the kingdom which is within, which comes not with outward observations, eatings, drinkings, nor carnal ordinances, but the kingdom of heaven consists in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

Now, read this, and learn to understand between the thing that points, and the thing which is pointed at, and between the thing signifying, and the thing signified, and mistake not the shadow for the substance any longer; for it is possible a man may do all the outward parts, and yet be ignorant of the cross of Christ, and of the heavenly substance: but if he is come to the end of these outside things, to the Holy of Holies, such will know what it is to minister before the Lord in his temple, and to serve and wait at the holy altar, and live, and have that pure spiritual life preserved: for we read not of any tithes that appertain to this spiritual priesthood, or gospel ministry; and what their outward maintenance was to be, is shewed by

Christ, beyond contradiction, who sent them forth: where they were received (mark that well) they might eat such things as were set before them, but were not to take any thing from them by force, for that is out of the doctrine and practice of Christ and his apostles.

Why do people call the scripture their rule of faith and manners, when at the same time they believe and act contrary thereto? For when I had some years before a debate with the priest of our parish, we meeting at Sponton, I being there upon some occasion, and several people met together, the priest demanded my reasons, why did not I pay him his tithe; I used some persuasive arguments to put him off, not being willing at that time to enter into any debate with him; but the more I shewed my unwillingness to it, the more urgent he was upon me: So when I could not see how to avoid entering into some close debate with him, I desired he would not be angry, and he said he would not. I then shewed in several particulars why I could not pay him any tithes, because I believed if he was a minister of Jesus Christ, he ought not to claim any; for as there was a change of the priesthood, there also must be of necessity a change of the law, as we see in Heb. vii. 12, and to pretend to draw any command or example from Christ or his apos-

ties, out of the New Testament, for that purpose, appears to me weak and inconsistent.

We had some farther discourse upon the ground of his right and title to tithes, whether *Jure divino*, as they used to be formerly claimed; or *Jure humano*, that is, by human laws, as most of the modern priests seem to choose to fix their title; I bid him fix his right for tithes on which claim he pleased, and I would endeavour to answer him as well as I could: but he seemed not to fix upon either: whereupon I told him, that there was no scripture settlement of tithes upon gospel ministers; and also offered to prove, that he was neither in the practice of the Levites, to whom tithes were directed to be paid, nor yet in the practice of those ministers whom Christ qualified, ordained and sent forth; first, not in the practice of the Levites; because the tithes due to them, were for their service and punctual performance of their part of the ceremonial law, Numb. xviii. 21, which if any now claimed, it seemed to me, that he subjected himself to the practice of burnt-offerings and sacrifices, circumcision, Jewish habits, washings, &c. (besides which, the law which appointed the tithe to the Levites, expressly forbids them to have any share or inheritance in the land, as appears from Numb. xviii. 20, 23, 24. and Deut. xviii. 1, 2) which modern claimers of tithe would be loath to

be compelled to the practice of; not to insist on the law of the third year's tithe, of which the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger within their gates, were to receive a considerable part as their allotted portion, Deut. xiv. 28, 29. Secondly, not in the practice of those ministers Christ qualified and sent forth; for these went out by an especial command from him, without gold, silver, or brass in their purses, without two coats; and so intent were they to be in the execution of their great duty of preaching the gospel, that they were to salute no man by the way, but to go forward on the great errand they had received in commission: and when they returned to their Lord, he asked them, if they lacked any thing, and they said nothing; yet not because they had forced a maintenance from any, but that the effect of their ministry among their hearers had been so prevalent, that those who had been convinced by their doctrine, and turned to the effectual power of Christ in themselves, had from thence known their hearts so opened, as to administer to all their immediate necessities: and these, thus sent, had only eat such things as were set before them, as they were appointed; and where they had sown spirituals, had only reaped of the temporals of their converts for their immediate subsistence: but though thou sowest not to me of thy spirituals, nor do I believe thee to

41

be one who hast any thing spiritual, which can be of any benefit to my spiritual part ; and though thou esteemest me as an heathen man and a publican, and I am excommunicated and cut off from any church-fellowship with thee, (not for any evil, but as far as I can understand, for not coming to what thou callest the church) yet thou expectedst to reap of my temporals, because the law of the land has given thee that power ; which disposition to reap where thou hast not sown, and to gather where thou hast not strown, is far from manifesting a Christian spirit.

The priest further urged some passages out of the New Testament, in vindication of the payment of tithes, alluding to that of the apostle, 1 Cor. ix. 7, about sowing of spiritual things unto us ; that it was but a small thing if such received of our carnal things ; and that of feeding a flock, and partaking of the milk of the flock ; and of planting a vineyard, and eating the fruit thereof : all which I endeavoured to obviate, by shewing, that he did not sow his spirituals to us, so as that he might be entitled to our carnal things ; neither were we of that flock which he should partake of the milk of ; neither were a vineyard which he had planted, that he might eat of the fruit thereof. Furthermore I said, as I am a stranger, and an excommunicated person and not thy children, the apostles, if they wanted or

were in any straits for necessaries, did not apply to strangers for help, but to such of their children as they had been instrumental in the hand of God to plant the true faith, and sow the seed of the kingdom in: now these who were thus convinced, and by the work of God's power converted, these were such who knew spiritual things sown in them, who I believed were very free to distribute, where true need was, of their temporal things, especially to such who had been instrumental in the Lord's hand to their coming to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. But I shewed the priest, that all this carried no analogy to what was between him and me, for I being excommunicated, was but to him as an heathen man and a publican and as we never came to hear him, we could not owe him any acknowledgment, nor could he expect any thing as a free-will offering on that account.

This priest Wykes (for that was his name) was a strong-spirited man, of considerable parts and learning; and a neighbouring justice of the peace told me, he was fearful would be very severe with me; yet to his commendation be it spoken, he was ever after this conference very loving, and never gave me any trouble for those he called his dues.

I may add one observation or two not mentioned in our debate, which were, that if the maintenance of the priests was to be wholly with

drawn, or left to the freedom and generosity of the people, many of them would want and come to poverty, and be forced to labour with their hands, which would distract, or at least impede their studies. I answered, that with such ministers as they were, this might be the case: but if all would come truly and rightly to wait on the great teacher, the anointing in themselves, it would greatly tend to the advantage of Christendom; for the Almighty, who by his good Spirit is alone able to raise up and qualify gospel ministers, as he knows the wants of his people, and their faith and trust in him, would no doubt raise up from among them faithful ministers; such, who being humble, meek and low in heart like him of whom they had learned, would be content to live in moderation on a little, and to labour in their respective callings, like the apostle Paul, that great minister of the Gentiles, working with their hands that their ministry might not be chargeable, such as fishermen, collectors of customs, &c. whose ministry being not their own, but received immediately from the great shepherd of the sheep, would not require much time and study to pen down, but coming from the Spirit of Truth immediately moving upon the ministers' hearts, would be more effectual to reach the witness of truth in the hearts of their hearers, than all the laboured discourses of the most subtle priest, though the

produce of much pains and study. Neither have I found in all my travels, from any observation I have made that ever the faithful ministers of Christ became any great burden or charge to the churches; for I have seen the divine Providence attend the Lord's faithful servants, who thereby have been enabled to order their affairs with discretion, so as to want little.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF MY
SECOND VISIT TO FRIENDS
IN
AMERICA.

I having had drawings in my mind, for some considerable time, once more to visit Friends in several parts of America, and inasmuch as I believed it was my duty, and what the Lord required of me to give up to, I was resigned, after some reasonings about my age, and declension as to ability of outward strength, concerning which I met with some inward conflicts and combatings which brought me very low for a time : but the Lord helped me through these difficulties, and caused his truth to spring comfortably in my heart, and his heavenly presence I witnessed at times to refresh my soul in these exercises unknown to many ; and the time being come for my preparing for the journey, on the 15th of the third month, 1731, I set forward from Hutton in the Hole to Scarborough, where took shipping with George Widget, for London,

and came thither the first day of the Yearly-meeting, with which I was very well satisfied, and on the 25th day of the fourth month went on board of a vessel bound for Philadelphia in America, John Wilcox master, who was very civil and kind to me.

On the 27th of the said month we set sail, and had a good passage in the main, excepting that we had one very great storm, in which we were in danger of being lost: our bowsprit was broken, and the masts were in danger of coming down, yet we were preserved; and in about eleven weeks, being the 12th of the seventh month, I landed near Philadelphia, to the great satisfaction of Friends as well as myself, renowned be the great name of the Lord for ever.

I have many times considered, that although it was my place to leave my very near and dear friends, children and relations, who in a tender frame of spirit were much concerned for me, and I for them, yet I met with many tender-hearted Friends in my travels, who were very near with me in the blessed truth; which fails not those who trust in the Lord, and are faithful, according to the ability and understanding which the Lord hath given to the children of men, and are devoted to answer the leadings and guidance of his Holy Spirit, and willing to bear the cross, burthen or yoke, which he sees good to lay upon his servants and handmaids: and I intreat al

such who are called unto the Lord's great work, to give up cheerfully and not grudgingly, and not to look back at what is behind, so as to hasten or hinder themselves in that work they are called to, lest they fall short of that penny or crown, which the faithful receive in the end of all their labour.

The yearly meeting at Philadelphia was nigh when we landed, which was large, and a good meeting, many Friends from several parts being at it. Here I met with Henry Frankland, and we were truly glad to see each other, and went in company together southward towards Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and returned to Pennsylvania; and in a short time after we parted: he came for England, and I travelled for New England through the Jerseys, Long Island, Rhode Island, and Nantucket having Richard Walne, of Pennsylvania, for my companion, a good man; we passed though all, or most part of the aforesaid provinces and Islands, and had very large meetings and great attention there was in many to hear the testimony of truth, and an open door both of utterance, and in many places of entrance, for what was delivered; yet not without opposition in some places.

I had some discourse with a Baptist, a justice of peace, in one of the Jerseys, a man whom I truly loved, and he told me, that some of his

children went to our meetings, and he did not hinder them: he appeared a tender-spirited man, and was of good repute in these parts where he lived, and very serviceable in his post: what he had most in debate, was touching water-baptism; I endeavoured to show him the use and end of all the shadowy things, all which were ended in Christ the substance, or antitype; and that such outward materials or elements appertained not unto his kingdom, or inward and spiritual administration; nor could they take away the root or cause of sin, which is only effected by the Holy Ghost and fire, or the Holy Ghost that worketh as doth fire, to the cleansing and purifying the hearts of the children of men, as is the nature of material fire to cleanse what it is properly applied unto.

I met with the same justice afterwards at Burlington in West Jersey; he was glad to see me, and so was I to see him, for he was very loving and friendly. I likewise met with a man who was a school master upon Long Island, that appeared somewhat offended at something I had said in a meeting where he had been, and he followed me to a Friend's house, and appeared so full of scriptures in vindication (as he thought) of water-baptism, that what with his reading many passages in the scriptures, and paraphrasing upon them, he would not hear me for some time; but when he

was quiet, I said to him, "Thou hast not treated me like a fair disputant, to run on so long and not to give me time to make my objections: if thou hadst pitched upon any particular scripture, and given me liberty to have answered, it would have been civil and reasonable." He owned, he had not done fairly by me; but I desired to know what church he pretended to belong to? He answered, To the Episcopal Church. I then requested he would answer me one question before we entered into farther debate, and he promised he would if he understood it. I told him, I heard he was a scholar, and no doubt but understood how to answer it, if he did but consider the matter; the query was this, whether the sprinkling a little water in a child's face would bear the name baptism, yea or nay? He said, it would not. I answered, "Thou hast made a great pother and noise about little or nothing; for by thy own confession thy church has no baptism at all, for I know not of any other way they use but sprinkling." He would not enter into any farther discourse about it, but made use of the words of Gamaliel, in favour of the work the apostles were concerned in, saying, If this work be of God it could not be overthrown, but if it was of man it would come to nought. I told him, I was of his mind: and the Lord hath supported us in this and the like work, now between forty

and fifty years, and if I continued faithful, I had no doubt at all in my mind, but he would support and stand by me to the end. And when we parted, he said, "The Lord of heaven and earth bless you, for I believe you are an honest man."

By this we may see, that truth sometimes comes over men, and the witness which God hath placed in men is reached, and truth prevails many times beyond our expectations, or what is by us foreseen: therefore it is good to keep to the guidance or leading of the Spirit of truth, for it is a blessed remembrancer, instructor, and true comforter to all such as truly depend upon him, who sent the Spirit of truth into the hearts of the children of men, to guide them into all the necessary truths which we are to know and practise, and consequently out of all untruth.

When we had gone through this island, and visited Friends there and in Rhode Island, and had some meetings in our way, we went to Nantucket, where we met with many Friends; also on Rhode Island, and in many places in these parts of the country, we found great openness; in Boston, beyond expectation, and there was some conviction in that town. We travelled up to Dover, and visited Friends thereabout (which are the most remote parts where Friends inhabit in that quarter of New England) wher

I met with a Presbyterian priest: what his design chiefly was in coming to the Friend's house I knew not, but thought it was to see, or rather speak with me, for he soon began to ask me some questions; first, Whether I was not brought up a scholar, and had been in some of the colleges where I had my education? And also, whether I had not put on the canonical gown, and preached according to the manner of the church of England? I replied I had not received my education in any college, neither ever put on the canonical gown, nor preached after the manner of the church of England. He told me I had been so represented to him: and said, he supposed I had been at some schools: I told him, I had been at several to learn when I was young; and said, I did not know that I had given occasion at any time by what I had said, whereby any man might judge me to be a scholar. He understood I came from Old England, and began to ask several questions, as whether our Friends increased or decreased: I answered, I could not positively tell; I thought there was no great alteration in my time as to number, for their decrease in one part of the nation I thought might be made up by their increase in another part. He also asked me how the Episcopal ministers dealt with us about their tithes; my answer was thus: As to that part called the Præbendial Tithes, they commonly either gather them

themselves or family, or let them to tenants, who take care to fetch them away before us, knowing that we cannot be free to leave them on the ground, as hay and corn &c. And as to small Tithes there is an * Act of Parliament called An Act for the more easy recovery of small tithes, for any sum not exceeding forty shillings, and ten shillings cost; which is by Justices' warrants. This is mostly thought to be intended to prevent their procedure by Exchequer process, through which great havoc and spoil has been made of Friends' goods, and sometimes their bodies cast into prison, where some have lain a long time. He asked how our Friends did in Scotland, if they increased there? I told him, I heard that they did not increase, but some of the Presbyterians in Scotland were kind to our Friends and would come to our meetings, especially if strangers were at them. And I

* The 7th and 8th of William the Third, Chap. 6 is the Act for Recovery of small Tithes or Offerings, &c. not amounting to above the yearly value of Forty Shillings, which is common for all people, the cost not exceeding ten shillings before two or more justices of the peace, not to go back above two years.

The 7th and 8th of William the Third, Chap. 34. which is our Affirmation Act, is the Act for the recovery of Tithes and Church-Rates, for any sum not exceeding Ten Pounds from Quakers only, before two Justices of the peace, without any limitation of time. And by the statute of the 1st of George the First, chap. 6. sect 2. limited to ten shillings cost.--See the Statutes at large.

also told him, that persecution in our part of the world was become hateful amongst most sober people. He said it was very well; and likewise mentioned, That we were refined, and not the people we had been. I asked him, Wherein he thought we were refined? He answered, in our principles. I desired him to name one: and he said, George Fox denied the resurrection of the dead. I told him, George Fox did own a resurrection according to Scripture, as we do; but because he and our Friends thought it not safe to recede from plain Scripture, nor to comply with the way many people have of expressing it, which we think to be too gross and carnal, viz. that the same body shall rise, therefore they have asserted we deny the resurrection: the Apostle saith, that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, for it is sown in corruption, raised in incorruption, sown a natural, raised a spiritual body; with much more that might be added: and how much such a change maketh a difference, between the present and the future in the resurrection, between the natural and spiritual, corruption and incorruption, I know not of any finite creature that is able truly to determine; and therefore I think it is not consistent with charity, nor true wisdom, to differ about such things which exceed our comprehension. He allowed it to be better to let them alone.

We parted very friendly, and Friends were glad of the opportunity, he having the character of being a great scholar and a wise man; but from all that passed, they believed he gained no advantage; however he behaved well; and before we parted, I told him, I thought the greatest reason why some think us refined was this, That formerly people were so prejudiced, that whatever was printed or said against us, our principles, practice, and doctrines, was generally received and believed, though never so much disguised or covered with such dresses as might render us more odious, and were by many taken for the standard of our belief and practice; but of late the light hath more appeared, and many are grown better disposed towards us, and like wise men, not willing to be imposed upon any longer, have searched for themselves into the state of the controversy between us and our opposers: and our writings, upon perusal, appearing so clear and different from what the books of those who opposed us charged upon us, caused many who read them with a good design, and were willing to be set right, to say We were reformed, and not the people that we had been. The priest said, he thought there might be much owing to that; I told him it was undeniable, that there must be a great difference between our principles, doctrines and conversations, truly stated and set forth in their proper

light, and when they were misrepresented, sometimes with all the art and implacable malice that men were capable of: and this has been the way our adversaries have treated us, almost in every thing we have believed, said, or written, although it was very agreeable to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

We returned back to Salem, Lynn and Boston, and visited Friends in our way, and at Rhode Island, Long Island and New York; and we had many good meetings and some large in the Jerseys, where I had some discourse with a justice of the peace about Water Baptism, but he did not hold it long before he gave up; and I had another at Allen's town with a Presbyterian, which held for some hours, about water Baptism, and concerning Election and reprobation, and he also soon gave up as to the first; but when he began about election and reprobation, I said I thought it was the most pernicious doctrine that ever was broached in the world, it did so oppose the very nature of God, and his design of creating man, which, with all his other works he pronounced good and blessed; and that man, as the crown and glory of all his works which he had created, should be designed for the most miserable end, was unaccountable; I urged many scriptures against that doctrine, as also the confusion they were in about it, as that of their Wesminster confession

of faith, wherein they say, That the decree is so certain and definite, that one cannot be added to the number of the elect, or diminished from the number of the reprobate; and yet you tell us, that God has ordained the means to effect his ends; I then said, this supposition of a decree for the means, as well as the end, seems intended to make the priests and their service necessary; but yet if they cannot alter the decree, what benefit or advantage can there be to men by their services or performance? I hope none will think that a service to mankind, to strengthen or confirm that decree, if it were in their power to do it, which I am satisfied it is not; because no such decree was made, or is in being; the opposite appearing by plain scripture, (which he owned when I urged it) to wit, that the fall of Adam did affect all; and upon the parity of reason, the coming of Christ did reach as far; because, as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive; he tasted death for every man, was a propitiation for the sins of all; and where then wilt thou find a people that is not included? But if thou canst find in, and prove by plain scripture, that there is such a people not included in these general assertions, that Christ came to save, shew me who they are. These and much more I urged that doctrine, and he with many others appeared much satisfied, and we parted friendly.